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THE
MEMOIRS
OF

Philip de Comines :

Containing the HISTORY of
LEWIS XI. and CHARLES VIII.
of FRANCE,

AND OF
CHARLES the Bold, Duke of Burgundy,

To which Princes he was Secretary :

As also the HISTORY of
EDWARD IV. and HENRY VII.
of ENGLAND ;

Including that of EUROPE for almost half
the Fifteenth Century :

With a SUPPLEMENT, as also several *Original
Treaties, Notes, and Observations.*

AND LASTLY,
The Secret History of Lewis XI. out of a Book
call'd *The Scandalous Chronicle*, and the Life
of the Author prefix'd to the whole, with
Notes upon it by the Famous SLEIDAN.

Faithfully Translated from the late Edition of
Monsieur GODEFROY, Historiographer Royal
of France,

To which are added REMARKS on all the Occurrences
relating to England.

By Mr. UVEDALE.

VOL. II.

LONDON: Printed for JOHN PHILLIPS at
the Black Bull in Cornhill. 1712.

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THE
MEMOIRS
OF
PHILIP de COMINES,
LORD OF
ARGENTON.
CONTAINING
The Principal Actions and Exploits
OF
LEWIS XI. King of FRANCE.

BOOK VI.

CHAP. I.

Of the Delivering up the Dutchy of Burgundy to the King.



UT to return to my History, A. D.
and the Continuation of these 1477.
Memoirs, which at your Lord-
ship's Request my good Lord
Arch-bishop of *Vienna*, I first
began. Whilst the King was
busy in subduing the Towns
and Places above-mention'd in the Marches
of *Picardy*, his Army in *Burgundy*, was, to
all outward Appearance, commanded by the
A 2 Prince

A. D. Prince of (a) *Orange*, (who is still living) a Subject
 1477. and Native of the Province of *Burgundy*, but lately
 disgusted, and a second time become an Enemy to Duke *Charles*, so that the King employed this Prince of *Orange* as a Person who had great Interest both in the Dutchy and County of *Burgundy*, and was well belov'd, and nobly born; but the (b) Lord *de Craon* was the King's Lieutenant, and had really the Command of the Army, for the King's greatest Confidence was reposed in him, and not without Reason; for he was a Person of great Wisdom and Penetration, and faithful to his Master, but a little too much given to Avarice. When the Lord *de Craon* drew near *Burgundy*, he sent the Prince of *Orange* and others before to *Dijon*, to reason the Case with them, and demand their Obedience to the King. The Commissioners manag'd their Affairs so dexterously, especially by the Prince of *Orange*'s Assistance, that not only *Dijon* and all the rest of the Towns in the Dutchy, but several also in the County of *Burgundy* revolted, only *Aussonne* and some few other Castles remain'd firm and stedfast to the young Princess, Duke *Charles*'s

(a) *John de Chalon*, the second of that Name, Prince of *Orange*. In the Year 1475. the 8th of *September*, he did Homage to *Lewis XI.* for the said Principality, as his Father *William* had done; and the same Day and Year he did Homage for certain Lands lying in *Dauphiné*, which the *Dauphin* held from the King. Afterwards there was an Arrest of *Dauphiné* issued out against him, by which Decree, the said Principality was forfeited, and annexed to the *Dauphin*'s Patrimony for ever, because the said *John* had committed Felony against the King. See *P. Matthieu's History of Lewis XI. Book xi. p. 750.*

(b) *George de la Tremouille*, Lord of *Jonville*, Baron of *Craon*, and chief Chamberlain to the King.

Daugh-

Daughter. The Prince of Orange was promis'd A.D. a large Revenue, besides all the Towns in the 1477. County of *Burgundy*, which were formerly in the Possession of his (c) Grandfather the Prince of Orange, but now in Dispute, by reason of a Claim to them, put in by his (d) Uncles the Lords of *Chasteau Guyon*. The Prince of Orange ^{The Reason of the} complain'd, that *Charles Duke of Burgundy* had ^{Prince of} been partial to the Lords in their Claim, which ^{Orange's} having been solemnly argued before him, the ^{quitting} Duke, in the midst of the whole Court, gave ^{the Duke} Judgment against him, much to the Prejudice of ^{of Bur-} the Prince, at least as he pretended; upon ^{gundy's} which the Prince deserted the Duke's Service, and went over to the King. But notwithstanding all the fair Promises above-mention'd, when the Lord *de Craon* was in Possession of all the Towns and Castles, and other Places that the Prince pretended to in right of his Grandfather, he would deliver none of them to the Prince, for all the Sollicitation he could make. The King was sensible of the Injury that was done the Prince of Orange, and wrote to the Lord *de Craon* about it, who kept the whole Country in Awe, but his Majesty did not believe that the Prince had either Courage or Interest enough to stir'em up to a Rebellion, as he did afterwards, at least a great Part; but I shall leave that for the present, and discourse of something more material in this Place.

(c) *Lewis de Chalon*, surnam'd the Good, who by his first Wife *Joan de Montbeliard*, had one *William*, the Father of *John*.

(d) *Lewis and Hugh de Chalon*, Lords of *Chasteau Guyon*, Children of the said *Lewis de Chalon*, by his second Wife, *Eleanor d'Armaignac*.

C H A P. II.

Of the King of France's Wheedling the English after the Duke of Burgundy's Death, for fear they should have interrupted him in the Conquest of the Territories belonging to the said Duke.

A. D.
1477.



Edward
a brave
Soldier,
but a weak
Politician.

THEY, who shall give themselves the Trouble of reading these Memoirs hereafter, and have a better Knowledge of the Affairs of this Kingdom and its neighbouring States, than perhaps I have, may wonder, that since the Duke of *Burgundy's* Death to this Time, (which is little less than a Year) I have not mention'd a Word of the *English*, nor of their suffering the King to seize upon those Towns which were near them, as *Arras*, *Bologne*, *Hesdin*, besides several Castles, and lie so many Days before *St. Omers*; the Reason of it was, because in Cunning and Artifice our King was much superior to King *Edward*, who was indeed a brave Prince, had won eight or nine Battles in *England*, in which he had been always present himself, and fought constantly on Foot, which redounded much to his Honour; but these were at several times, and depended not much upon his Understanding; for upon the Success of one Battle he was absolute Master of Course, till another Rebellion or Commotion disturbed him. In *England*, when any Disputes arise, and proceed to a War, the Controversy is generally decided in eight or ten Days, and one Party or other gains the Victory; but with us on this side

side of the Water, Affairs are manag'd quite o-
therwise, our Expeditions are to be carried on
another Way. The King was oblig'd to keep a
watchful Eye upon his Neighbours (as well as
the rest of his Kingdom) and particularly upon
the King of *England* above all, who was to be
satisfied at any rate, and cajol'd and amus'd
with Ambassadors, Promises, and Presents, lest
he should attempt something that might inter-
rupt his Designs; for our Master was sensible,
that both the Nobility, Commons and Clergy of
England, were always ready to enter upon a
War with *France*, being incited thereunto not
only upon the account of an old Title, but the
Desire of Gain; for it pleas'd God to permit
their Predecessors to obtain several memorable
Battles in this Nation, and to continue in the
Possession of *Normandy* and *Guienne*, for the
space of 350 Years, before *Charles* the VII. gave
them the first Blow; during which Time they
have carried over a considerable Booty into *Eng-
land*, not only in Plunder which they had tak-
en in the several Towns, but in the Richness
and Quality of their Prisoners; who were ma-
ny of them great Princes and Lords, that paid
'em vast Ransoms for their Liberty, so that eve-
ry *Englishman* since thought to do the same
thing, and return home laden with Spoils. But
this was not to be look'd for in our King's Days,
for he would never venture the whole Kingdom
upon the doubtful Issue of a Battle, nor do any-
thing so rashly as to dismount himself, and all
his Nobility to fight the *English* on Foot, as was
done at the Battle of *Agincourt*: And if he had
been reduc'd to that Extremity, he would cer-
tainly have manag'd his Affairs with more Pru-
dence and Caution, as may be presum'd from

A. D. 1477. the Manner of his Conduct when King Edward was in *France*. The King found himself under an absolute Necessity to caress and wheedle the King of *England*, and the rest of his Neighbours, whom he perceiv'd inclinable to Peace in hopes of his Money; and therefore his Pension of fifty Thousand Crowns was punctually paid at *London*, and allow'd it to be call'd Tribute by the *English*: Besides this Pension, He was oblig'd to pay seventy five Thousand Crowns to King Edward before his Departure from *France*, and this the *English* call'd a Fine for that Kingdom: He also distributed sixteen Thousand more among the King of *England's* Officers that were about his Person; particularly to the Chancellor, the Master of the Rolls who is now Chancellor, the High Chamberlain the Lord *Hastings*, (a Man of Honour and Prudence, and of great Authority with his Master, and he deserv'd it, upon the Account of the faithful Service he had done him) Sir *Thomas Montgomery*, the Lord *Howard*, (who afterwards espous'd King *Richard's* Interest, and was created Duke of *Norfolk*) the Lord *Cheney*, Master of the Horse, Mr. *Chalanger*, and a (e) Marquis, who was the Queen of *England's* Son, by her first Husband. Besides these great Presents, he was also very generous to Ambassadors, and whomsoever was sent to him from the *English* Court, though their Messages were never so harsh and displeasing; so by this Means he dispatch'd them always with such fair Words, and large Presents, that most of them went away very well satisfied; and tho'

(e) This was *Thomas Gray*, the first Marquis *Dorset* of that Name, and the Son of Sir *John Gray*, of *Grooby*, slain fighting against the *Yorkists*, at the Battle of *St. Albans*.

they were certainly assur'd (at least some of them) that what he did was only to gain Time to effect and carry on his Designs, yet their private Interest prevail'd with them to wink at it, tho' highly to the Detriment and Disadvantage of the publick Affairs.

To all those Persons of Quality above-mention'd, the King gave considerable Presents, besides their Pensions. To the Lord *Howard*, (besides his Pension) he gave to my certain knowledge, in less than two Years time, in Money and Plate, above 24000 Crowns; to the Lord *Hastings*, who was King *Edward's* Chamberlain, he gave at one time above 1000 Marks in Plate, and all the Acquittances of every *Englishman* of Quality except the Lord *Hastings*, are still to be seen in the Chamber of Accounts, at *Paris*. This Lord *Hastings* was at that time High Chamberlain of *England*, (an Office of great Reputation, and executed singly by one Man.) It was with great Difficulty and Sollicitation, that he was made one of the King's Pensioners: At the time when I was in the Duke of *Burgundy's* Service, I had brought him over to his Interest, and he allowed him a Pension of a Thousand Crowns a Year. Upon my telling our King what I had done, he employ'd me to try what I could do to bring him over to his Interest, for he had been his particular Enemy in the Duke of *Burgundy's* time, was since a Favourer of the young Princess of *Burgundy*, and was once like to have prevail'd with the King of *England* to cross the Seas once more to assist the Princess: I began our Amity by Letters; the King allow'd him a Pension of 2000 Crowns *per Annum*, (which was double to what had been paid him by the Duke) and sent one of the Stewards of his House call'd

Peter

A. D. 1477. *Peter Cleret*, with it; giving him express Order to take his Receipt, that hereafter it might appear upon Record, that the Lord Chamberlain, Chancellor, Admiral, Master of the Horse, and several other great Lords of *England*, were at the same Time Pensioners to the King of *France*. This *Peter Cleret* was a cunning Man, was privately admitted to the Lord Chamberlain, at his House in *London*, and having delivered his Complements from the King, presented his two thousand Crowns in Gold (for to foreign Lords of great Quality the King never gave any thing else.) The Chamberlain having received the Gold, *Peter Cleret* desir'd his Lordship would be pleas'd to give him a Receipt for it; the Lord Chamberlain scrupling to do it, he repeated his Request, and entreated him that he would give him only three Lines under his Hand directed to the King his Master, lest his Majesty should think he had imbezled it himself, for he was of a very suspicious Temper. The Lord Chamberlain seeing he persisted (tho' his Demand was but reasonable) replied, *Monsieur Cleret*, *What you desire is not unreasonable, but this Present proceeds from your Master's Generosity, not any Request of mine; if you have a mind I should receive it, you may put it into my Sleeve, but neither Letter nor Acquittance you are like to have of me; for to be free with you, Monsieur Peter, it shall never be said for me, that the High Chamberlain of England was Pensioner to the King of France, nor shall my Hand be ever produc'd in his Chamber of Accounts.* *Cleret* urg'd the Matter no farther, but left the Money and return'd his Answer to the King, who was highly displeas'd at *Cleret's* not bringing his Receipt, but he commended and valued the Lord Chamberlain above all the King of *England's*

land's Ministers ever after, paid him his Pension constantly, and never ask'd for his Receipt. A. D. 1477.

In this Posture were Affairs between the King of *England* and our Master: However the King of *England* was earnestly solicited to assist the young Princess, and the King sent several Embassies to our Master, to press him either for a Peace, or a Cessation of Arms: For some of the Privy Council, and the Parliament (which is of the same nature of our Convention of the three Estates, compos'd of several Persons of Wisdom and Penetration, who came out of the Country, and were not Pensioners of *France* as the rest were) pressed hard that the King of *England* would interpose vigorously for the Princess of *Burgundy*; urging that we did but dissemble with them, and amuse them with Hopes of this Marriage, as it very plainly appear'd: For at the Treaty at *Piquigny* the Kings had mutually sworn, that within the space of a Year the King of *England's* Daughter should be sent for, and delivered into the hands of the King of *France's* Ambassador: And that tho' the King of *France* had permitted her to be styl'd *Dauphiness*, yet the Time was elapsed, and no Lady was sent for. But all the Arguments they made use of could not prevail with King *Edward*, and for several Reasons. King *Edward* was a voluptuous Prince, wholly addicted to his Pleasures and Ease; and having been, in his former Expeditions, reduc'd to great Straits and Necessities, he had no mind to involve himself in a new War on this side the Water: The Fifty Thousand Crowns being also punctually paid him in the Tower, softned his Heart, and hinder'd him from concerning himself in that Affair. Besides, his Ambassadors were always
brib'd

A. D. 1477. *brib'd, entertain'd so nobly, and left the French Court so well satisfied, that no Exceptions could be taken; tho' the King's Answers were always uncertain, in order to gain Time; assuring them still, that in a few Days he would send a considerable Embassy of his own, which would satisfy their Master in every Point.*

As soon as the King of England's Ambassadors were returned, about three Weeks or a Month after, sometimes more, sometimes less (which in such cases is a great matter) the King our Master would send his; but always new Persons, and such as had not been employed in any Overture with the English before, to the end, that if any thing had been promised by their Predecessors, but not afterwards perform'd, they might pretend Ignorance, and not be oblig'd to give them an Answer. The Ambassadors who were sent into England used their utmost Endeavours to possess King Edward of the good Inclinations of the King of France, and they manag'd that Affair so cunningly, that he fate still, and never endeavoured to give the least Assistance to the Princess of Burgundy: For indeed both the King and Queen of England were so ambitious of the Match with their Daughter, that, upon that account, not to mention several others, the King was willing to wink at these Proceedings; and take no notice of the Remonstrance that was made him by several of his Privy Council, and the Commons assembled in Parliament; who represented to him how prejudicial it would be to the Interest of the whole Nation. Besides, the Queen herself was afraid the Marriage should be broken off, which began already to be laugh'd at in England, especially by such as were desirous of War.

King Edward a-mus'd by Lewis XI. with hopes of a Marriage between the Dauphin and the Lady Elizabeth.

War. But, to clear up this matter a little more, the King our Master never design'd to consummate this Marriage, by reason of the disproportion in their Years; for the Young (f) Lady, who is now Queen of *England*, was much older than the *Dauphin*, who is now King of *France* (g). So that a Month or two were spent in sending Ambassadors from one Court to another, and such Artifices and Amusements were made use of purely to gain time, and hinder the *English* from an Opportunity of declaring War against him: For certainly had it not been in hopes of this Marriage, the King of *England* would never so tamely have suffer'd our King to have taken so many Towns as it were under his Nose, without endeavouring to have defend- ed them; and had he appeared at first for the young Princess of *Burgundy*, our King being so fearful of bringing any thing to a hazard, would not have encroached so far upon the Dominions of the House of *Burgundy*, nor have weaken'd it so much. My Design in writing of these Transactions, is, to shew the Method and Conduct of all Human Affairs, by the reading of which, such Persons as are employ'd in the Negotiation of great matters, may be instructed how to manage their Administrations; for tho' their Judgment may be great, yet a little Advertisement sometimes does no harm. This I have been assured of, that if the Princess of *Burgundy* would have been perswaded to have marry'd Earl

(f) Her Name was *Elizabeth*, who afterwards was married to *Henry VII.* by which Match the Houses of *York* and *Lancaster* were united.

(g) *Charles VIII.*

A. D. 1477. *Rivers*, the Queen of *England's* Brother, they would have furnish'd her with a considerable Number of Troops; but that Marriage was look'd upon to be very unequal, for he was but an (*b*) Earl of a slender Estate, and she the greatest Fortune of her Time. Many Overtures and Bargains were made between the Kings of *England* and *France*; among the rest the King of *France* offered, that if he would join with him, and come over in Person, and invade the *Low Countries*, which belong'd to the Princess of *Burgundy*, his Majesty would consent that the King of *England* should have all (*i*) *Flanders* for his share, and hold it without Homage, and the Province of *Brabant* besides, in which the King of *France* would engage to reduce four of the chief Towns at his own Expence, and afterwards deliver 'em up to the King of *England*. Besides, he proffered (to lessen his Charge in the War) to pay Ten Thousand of the King of *England's* Troops for four Months together; to provide him a large Train of Artillery, Horses, and Carriages to convey them, upon condition the King of *England* would invade *Flanders*, whilst he made War upon 'em in another Place. The King of *England's* Answer was, that the Towns in *Flanders* were large, and not easy to be kept when they were taken, and *Brabant* was the same; besides, the *English* had no great Inclination to undertake that War, upon account of the Commerce that was betwixt them; but since the King was so generously inclin'd, as to allow

Lewis offers Edward IV. to share the Low-Countries between 'em.

(*b*) This was *Antony Woodville*, Earl *Rivers*, not of ancient Nobility, since his Father *Richard Woodville* was but a Commoner, till made Earl *Rivers* by King Edward.

(*i*) The Province of *Flanders*.

him a share in his Conquests, he desired he would give such Places as he had conquered already in *Picardy*, as *Bologne*, and others; upon surrendring up of which he would be ready to declare on his side, and (if he would engage to pay it) send an Army to his Assistance. This was a Wise and Politick Answer. A. D. 1477.

C H A P. III.

Of the Conclusion of the Marriage between the Princess of Burgundy, and Maximilian then Duke of Austria, and Emperor since.



AFTER this manner (as I said before) Transactions were managed between the two Kings, ours designing nothing but to gain Time, by which means the Princess of *Burgundy's* Affairs began visibly to decay; for of those few Soldiers that remain'd after her Father's Death, several revolted from her to the King, especially after the Lord *des Cordes* had quitted her Service, and carried several others along with him. Some were forced to leave her, because their Estates or Abodes lay very near, or were within the Towns which had declared for the King: Others in hopes of Preferment; for in that respect no Prince was so noble and generous to his Servants as he. Several Commotions and Parties discover'd themselves daily in the great Towns, and particularly in *Ghent*, of which his Majesty was still jealous, as you have already heard. Several Husbands were propos'd to her, and every Body was of opinion there was a neces-

A. D. 1477. necessity of her marrying, to defend those Territories that she had left, or (by marrying the *Dauphin*) to recover what she had lost, and settle all in a General Peace. Several were entirely for this Match, and her self as earnest for it as any Body, especially before the Letters presented by the Lord *d'Hymberecourt* and the Chancellor to the King were betray'd to the Ambassadors from *Ghent*. Some opposed that, and urged the Disproportion of their Age, the *Dauphin* being but Nine Years old, and besides engaged to the King of *England's* Daughter; and these were mighty Friends to the Duke of *Cleves*. Others recommended *Maximilian* the Emperor's Son, and at present King of the *Romans*. The Princess her self had conceiv'd an extream Hatred against the King ever since he discover'd and deliver'd the Letters; for she looked upon him as the Occasion of the Death of her two principal Ministers of State, and of the Dishonour and Surprize that was put upon her when the Letters were delivered to her publicly in the Council, as you have heard before. Besides, it was that which gave the *Gantois* a Pretence and Confidence to banish so many of her Servants, to remove her Mother-in-law and the Lord *de Ravesteyn* from about her, and put her Maids of Honour into such a Consternation, that not one of them durst open a Letter without first shewing it to the *Gantois*, nor speak any thing to their Mistress, but in their Hearing. This Disgust made the Princess carry her self very shy and strange to the (k) Bishop of *Liege*, who was

k *Lewis de Bourbon*, Son of *Charles* Duke of *Bourbon* and *Agnes* of *Burgundy*.

of

of the House of *Bourbon*, and a great Promoter of this Match with the *Dauphin*, which certainly would have been very honourable and advantageous for the Princess, had it not been for the extream Youth of the *Dauphin*; but the Bishop was very indifferent in the matter, remov'd to *Liege*, and that Affair was laid wholly aside. Without dispute it must have been a very difficult matter to have manag'd that Negotiation to the satisfaction of both Parties; and I am of opinion whoever had undertaken it, would have gained but little Credit by it in the end. However (as I have been inform'd) a Council was held about it, at which (1) *Madam Hallewin*, first Lady of the Bed-chamber to the Princess, was present, who being ask'd her Opinion about the *Dauphin*, reply'd, *That there was more need of a Man than a Boy; That her Mistress was capable of bearing a Child, which was what her Dominions wanted more than any thing else.* Some condemn'd the Lady for answering so abruptly, others commended her, alledging that what she spoke was purely in relation to that Marriage, and the Necessity of her Lady's Dominions; so that now the only Talk was, who should be the Person. I am verily persuaded, that if the King had been inclined to have had her marry (m) the Count d' *Angoulesme*, who is now living; she would have consented to it, so desirous was she to continue her Alliance with *France*; but God thought fit to appoint her another Husband, for Reasons unknown perhaps to us, unless it might be, that

(1) *Joan de la Clite*, Lady of *Comines*, at that time Widow of *John Lord of Hallewin*, and Cousin to *Philip de Comines*.

(m) The Author means *Charles*, Father of *K. Francis I.*

A. D. 1477. it might occasion great Wars and Confusions on both sides, which could not possibly have happen'd, had she marry'd the Count d' *Angoulesme*; but by this Match the Provinces of *Flanders* and *Brabant* sustained great Miseries and Afflictions: The Duke of *Cleves* was at the same time in *Ghent* with the Princess, making Friends, and trying all Arts, which he thought might contribute to the Marriage between the Princess and his Son, but she had no Inclinations to that; for the Humour of the Young Gentleman neither pleased her, nor any Person about her Court. At last a Marriage was propos'd between her, and the Emperor's Son the present King of the *Romans*, of which there had formerly been some Overture between the Emperor and Duke *Charles*, and it was concluded between them. The Emperor had in his custody a Letter written by the Young Lady, at her Father's Command, under her own Hand, and a Diamond Ring of considerable Value. The Design of the Letter was to acquaint his Imperial Majesty, that in obedience to her Father's Commands, she promised to accomplish the Marriage with his Son the Duke of *Austria*, in the same Form and Manner, as her Father the Duke of *Burgundy* should think fit to prescribe.

The Emperor sent (n) Ambassadors to the Princess, who was at *Ghent*; but upon their Arrival at *Brussels*, Orders were sent to them to stop there, and Commissioners should be sent

(n) These Ambassadors, according to the Memoirs of Monsieur *Oliver de la Marche*, were, the Duke of *Bavaria*, *George de Baden* Bishop of *Mets*, *George Hefler* Chancellor of the Dutchy of *Austria*, mention'd before, *Book IV. Chap. II.* and one Doctor *William Mortingle*.

thither to receive and answer their Demands. A. D. 1477.
 This was only a Contrivance of the Duke of *Cleves*, who was extremely unwilling they should come to *Ghent*, and endeavoured to send them back again dissatisfied; but the Ambassadors went on, for they had Intelligence in the Princess's Court, or at least the ^(o) Dutchess Dowager had, who was removed from the Princess, as you have heard before, upon occasion of the Letter. This Old Lady, as I have been since inform'd, advised them to proceed in their Journey notwithstanding these Letters, gave them Instructions how they were to behave themselves upon their Arrival at *Ghent*, and assured them that the Young Princess and the greatest part of her Court were willing enough of the Match. Upon this Information the Ambassadors advanced, and taking no notice of the Orders which they had received, went directly for *Ghent*, at which the Duke of *Cleves* was highly offended; but he knew nothing as yet of the Inclination of the Court-Ladies. It was resolved that the Princess should give them Audience, and after they had delivered their Embassy, let them know that they were very welcome, that she would acquaint her Council with their Desires, and order them to return her Answer; and that the Princess should not concern her self any farther about it. The Ambassadors being admitted to a publick Audience, presented their Credentials, and then deliver'd their Embassy; which was only to let her Highness

(o) *Margaret*, Daughter of *Richard Duke of York*, and Sister to *Edward IV. King of England*, third Wife of *Charles Duke of Burgundy*.

A. D. 1477. know, that the Marriage had been concluded formerly between the Emperor and her Father, and that by her own Consent and Approbation, as appeared by the Letter under her own Hand, which they produced, and the Diamond Ring which had been sent as a Pledge of the said Marriage: Upon which they insisted that the Young Princess would consummate the Marriage according to the Engagement both of her Father and her self, and then they conjur'd her to declare before the whole Assembly, whether she wrote the Letter or not, and whether she design'd to make good her Promise? The Young Princess, without any Consideration, reply'd, that she wrote the Letter, and sent the Ring in obedience to her Father's Commands, and freely own'd the Contents of it. The Ambassadors express'd their humble Acknowledgments, and returned very joyful to their Lodgings. The Duke of Cleves was extremely dissatisfy'd with her Answer, as being contrary to what was agreed on in Council, and upbraided the young Princess as having acted very indiscreetly in this Affair. To which she reply'd, that it was not in her power to do any otherwise, since it was a thing agreed on long before, and she could not deny it. Having taken her Answer into Consideration, and finding that several about the Princess were of the same Opinion, he resolved to give over his Sollicitation, and in a few Days retire into his own Country. After this manner was the Marriage concluded, and Duke Maximilian came to *Cologne*, where several of the Princess's Servants went to attend him, and carry him Money, with which, as I have been told, he was but slenderly furnish'd; for his Father was the nearest and most covetous Prince

The covetous Temper of the Emperor Frederick III.

Prince or Person of his Time. The Duke of *Austria* was conducted to *Ghent* with about 7 or 800 Horse in his Retinue, where the Marriage was consummated, which at first sight brought no great advantage to the Subjects of the Young Princess; for instead of supporting her, she was forced to supply him with Money: His Armies were neither strong enough, nor in a condition to face the King's; besides the Humour of the House of *Austria* was not so pleasing to the Subjects of the House of *Burgundy*, who had been bred up under rich Princes that had good Offices and Employments to dispose of; whose Palaces were sumptuous, whose Tables were nicely served, whose Dress was magnificent, and whose Liveries were noble and splendid: But the *Germans* are of a quite contrary Temper, boorish in their Conversation, and nasty in their way of living.

It seems to me (and that after mature Consideration with my self) that upon good and solid Advice, and not without the particular Assistance of God, that Law was made in *France*, whereby Women are excluded, and no Daughter suffer'd to inherit the Crown; to prevent its falling into the hands of a foreign Nation or Prince, which the *French* would hardly endure, or indeed any other Nation; for there is no Sovereignty whatever but at length revolves upon the Natives, as may be seen in *France*, where the *English* had the Government for four hundred Years together, and at this present have nothing left of all their Conquests in this Kingdom, but *Galais*, and two trifling Castles scarce worth the keeping; the rest they parted with, with much more ease than they conquer'd it, for they lost more in one Day than they had gain'd in a Year. The same thing is observable

A Digression concerning the Salique Law.

A. D. 1477. in the Kingdoms of *Naples* and *Sicily*, and other Provinces, where the *French* had possession for many Years together ; of all which there is now no Monument of their Power remaining, but the Sepulchres of their Fathers. And if it were possible for them to admit a foreign Prince, whose Wisdom was great, and his Retinue small, and well regulated ; yet they could hardly be prevail'd with to receive him with a great Train, or suffer that he should send for great Numbers of his other Subjects, upon pretence of making War upon his Neighbours ; because Animosities will certainly arise among them, by reason of their Diversity of Humours, and the Violences they will commit ; for they cannot have so much Love and Affection for the Country, as they who were born in it ; especially if they aspire and aim at the Offices or Employments which belong more properly to the Natives. So that it is very requisite for a wise Prince, upon his coming into a foreign Country, to adjust all Differences of that nature ; and if he is not Master of this Vertue (which proceeds more immediately from God than any thing else) the rest, tho' call'd Virtues, will be of no advantage to him : And if he reigns long, he and all his Subjects shall find themselves involv'd in Troubles, especially when he comes to be superannuated, and his Ministers to have no farther Hopes of prolonging his Life.

How a
foreign
Prince
ought to
behave
himself in
respect of
governing
his People.

This Marriage was perform'd with great Pomp and Solemnity, but their Affairs were not in a much better Posture ; for they were both very young. Duke *Maximilian* was a Person of no great Knowledge or Penetration in any thing, both in respect of his Youth, and his being in a foreign Country : Besides, his Education had been

been but indifferent, and not suitable to the Management of great Affairs; nor, if it had been better, he had not a sufficient Body of Troops ready to have attempted any thing considerable: So that his poor Countries lay expos'd to the Insults of their Neighbours, and were in great Troubles, which have continued to this day, and are like to continue. For which Reasons, as I said before, 'tis a great Misfortune to any Country to entertain a foreign Sovereign; and God has been very merciful to *France*, in establishing that Law against the Inheritance of the Daughter. A private or indifferent Family may be much the better for it; but a great Kingdom like ours will always find great Inconveniencies, and be much incommoded. Few Days after the Consummation of this Marriage (if not at the very time of Treaty) the whole Country of *Artois* was lost. It will be sufficient for me to deliver the Substance, and if I fail in Terms, or the just Computation of Times, I hope the Reader will excuse me. The King's Affairs went on prosperously, without any manner of Opposition, taking some Town or other every day; only now and then some Overture or Proposition was made, but came to nothing; for both Sides being high in their Demands, the War could not but continue. Duke *Maximilian* and the Young Princess had a Son the first Year, and it was the Arch-Duke *Philip*, who is still living: the next Year they had a Daughter called (p) *Margaret*, who at present is our Queen;

A. D.
1477.

B 4

the

(p) This *Margaret* is the Lady, whom the *Gantois* betrothed to *Charles VIII.* against her Father's Consent, as appears by IX Chapter of this Book, *Charles VIII.* never perform'd

A. D. 1477. the third they had another called (q) *Francis*, after the Name of *Francis* Duke of *Bretagne*, who was his Godfather; the fourth Year the Princess (r) died of a Fall from her Horse, or a Fever, but 'tis certain she fell, and some say she was breeding. Her Death was a mighty Loss to her Subjects, for she was a Person of great Honour, affable and generous to all People, and more belov'd and respected by her Subjects than her Husband, as being Sovereign of their Country: She was a tender and passionate Lover of her Husband, and of singular Reputation for her Modesty and Vertue. This Misfortune happen'd in the Year 1482.

The Character of the Dutches of Austria, Daughter of Charles the last Duke of Burgundy

In *Hainault* the King was possess'd of two Towns, *Quesnoy le Comte* and *Bouchain*, both which he restored; at which several Persons were highly astonish'd, as knowing his Aversion to Peace, and how desirous he was to take all, and leave the House of *Burgundy* nothing; and my Opinion is, if he could have done it handsomely, and destroyed, or divided his Territories at his Ease, he would not have failed to have done it. But as he told me afterwards himself,

perform'd the Marriage with her, but when he was arriv'd to the Age of one and twenty, he sent her back to her Father. She was afterwards married to the King of *Castile*, and lastly to *Philibert* Duke of *Savoy*. She was born in the Year 1480. *de la Marche*.

(q) Monsieur *Oliver de la Marche*, in his Memoirs, says, that this young Prince was baptized in the Church of *St. Gudule* in *Brussels*, and the Cardinal *Ferry de Cluny* was his second Godfather.

(r) She died the second of *March* in the Year 1482. through an Excess of Female Modesty, chusing rather to die, than suffer a Surgeon to set her Thigh, which was broken by the Fall from her Horse.

he

he surrendered those Towns in *Hainault* for two A. D. Reasons ; the first was, because he thought a 1477. Prince was more oblig'd to take care of the Places of Strength and Importance in his own Country, where he was Anointed and Crowned King, than such as were out of his Dominions; as these were. The other was, because there had been solemn Oaths and Confederacies between the Emperors and the Kings of *France* not to invade or usurp upon one another ; and these Places belonging to the Empire were restored in the Year 1477. Upon the same account *Cambray* was likewise delivered, or put into a State of Neutrality, the King being contented to lose it ; but the truth is, they received him at first upon those Terms.

C H A P. IV.

King Lewis, by the Management of Charles d'Amboise his Lieutenant, recovers many Towns in Burgundy, that the Prince of Orange had persuaded to revolt from him.



HO' the War was still carried A. D. on in *Burgundy*, yet the King 1478. could not accomplish his Designs ; because the Prince of *Orange*, (who had revolted from him) was chosen by the *Burgundians* to be their Lieutenant ; and underhand assisted by the *Germans*, but more for the sake of his Money, than out of Love to *Maximilian* ; for there was not a Man in the whole Country that

A. D. that espous'd his Interest, at least during the
 1478. time I speak of. These Germans were *Swiss*
 Troops, and maintained the War upon their own
 score, not as Soldiers in *Maximilian's* Pay; for the
Swiss are neither Friends nor Well-wishers to
 the House of *Austria*. The *Burgundians* had
 little Assistance besides, because their Pay was
 but bad; tho' no Prince could better have sup-
 plied them, than Duke *Sigismund* of *Austria*,
Maximilian's Uncle, whose Territories lay near,
 especially the County of *Ferrere*, which he had
 sold not many Years before, for 10000 Florins
 of the *Rhine* to *Charles* Duke of *Burgundy*, and
 afterwards repossessed himself of it without re-
 turning the Money; and as he took, so he
 keeps it by force. *Sigismund* was a Person of no
 great Penetration, nor very just and honourable
 in his Dealings, and from such Allies no great
 Assistance is to be expected: He was of the
 Number of those Princes I mentioned before,
 who are above concerning themselves with their
 own Affairs, and know nothing of them, but as
 their Ministers of State are pleased to represent;
 and they are always rewarded for their Indo-
 lence and Supinety, in their old Age, as *Sigis-
 mund* was here. During the Wars, his Ministers,
 who had the sole Administration of Affairs, en-
 gaged him on what side they pleased; and for
 the most part he enter'd into an Alliance with
 the King of *France* against his own Nephew,
 and would have given his Territories (which
 were very large) to a foreign Family, and dis-
 appointed his own Relations (for tho' he had
 been twice married, he never had any Issue) but
 at last, not above three Months since, by the
 Persuasion of another Set of Ministers, he con-
 vey'd all to his Nephew *Maximilian* (at present
 King

A Digres-
 sion con-
 cerning
 the Sloth
 and Indo-
 lence of
 some Prin-
 ces.

King of the *Romans*, reserving only a Pension A. D. of about a third part of the Revenue, without 1478, any other Authority or Power; but as I have been inform'd, he has often repented of it since; and if it be not true, it is very probable. And such is the Fate of Princes who live so carelessly, and like Beasts, and who certainly are highly to be condemned, upon account of the great Charge and Duty that God has laid upon them in this World. These Errors and imprudent Actions are not to be laid to the Charge of weak and stupid Princes, but of those who are indued with a sufficient share of Sense and Understanding, and yet squander away all their Time in Pleasure and Impertinence; such Princes have no reason to complain when any Misfortune befalls them. And on the other side, those who divide their Time according to their Age; sometimes in Council, and sometimes in Diversions, are much more to be commended; and those Subjects are more happy who have such a Prince to Rule over 'em.

The War in *Burgundy* was carried on for some time, by the little Assistance they received from the *Germans*; yet the King's Forces were too powerful for them, for the *Burgundians* wanted Money, and their Garrisons were corrupted; the Lord *de Craon*, who was the King's General in those parts, besieged *Dole*, the chief Town in the County of *Burgundy*; which he presumed he should quickly make himself Master of, upon account of the Weakness of their Garrison, but his Confidence proved much to his Disadvantage; for being surpris'd by a sudden Sally, he lost some few of his Men, and to his eternal Dishonour, a great Part of his Cannon; which so highly rais'd the King's Displeasure

The Office
of a good
Prince.

A. D. 1478. sure against him, that being vex'd at this unfortunate Action; he began to think of sending a new Governor into the County of *Burgundy*, not only upon Account of this Misfortune, but for the great and excessive Sums of Money which he had exacted in those Parts: However, before the General laid down the Command of the Army, he had engaged and defeated a Party of *Germans and Burgundians*, in which Action (f) *Monsieur de Chasteauguyon* (the greatest Lord of *Burgundy*) was taken Prisoner; and besides that, nothing of Importance was done that Day; I speak only by Hear-say, and if we may believe Report, the Lord *de Craon* behav'd himself with a great deal of Valour and Intrepidity in that Engagement. As I was saying, the King for the Reasons abovemention'd resolved to put a new Governor into the County of *Burgundy*; but not to meddle with the Profits or Advantages of the Lord *de Craon's* (t) Places, only he depriv'd him of his Guards, and left him but six Men at Arms and a dozen Archers to attend him: The Lord *de Craon* was grown very unwieldy, and retir'd well satisfied to his Country Seat, which was richly furnished, and where he liv'd in great Ease and Plenty. The King put into his Post *Monsieur Charles d'Amboise* Lord of *Chaumont*, a valiant, discreet, and diligent Officer; who, upon his first Advancement endeavour'd to persuade the *Germans*

(f) *Hugh de Chalon*, Son of *William* Prince of *Orange*.

(t) This Lord *de Craon* was at that time Governor of *Champagne*, *Brie*, *Burgundy*, and *Tourraine*: He was also in possession of the Governments of several other Cities in *France*; and chief Chamberlain to the King, besides enjoying the whole Revenue of the Barony of *Craon* in *Anjou*, which was his own Inheritance.

from assisting the *Burgundians*, and to get them to enter into the King's Service, (not that he valued their Service, but to facilitate his Conquest of the rest of that Country) To this purpose the King sent to the *Germans* or *Swiss* (whom he stiled, *The Confederate Lords*) and offer'd them very fair Terms: First, a Pension of 2000 Franks, to be paid to four of their chief Towns, as *Bern*, *Lucern*, *Zurich*, and I suppose *Fribourg*, with their three Cantons (upon the Mountains) *Swiss*, which now gives name to the whole Country, *Souleurre* and *Ondrevail*: 20000 Franks *per Annum* to particular Persons, whose Assistance he used in his Negotiations; and to oblige them he made himself one of their Burgessees, and their principal Ally, and desir'd it might be declar'd in Writing; but they made some Difficulty of consenting to that, because time immemorial the Duke of *Savoy* had been their principal Ally; yet at length they consented, and promised to furnish the King with a Body of 6000 Men, to be employ'd continually in his Service, upon condition he should pay to each Man four Florins and a half in *Dutch* Money every Month, which was granted, and that Number was continued in the King's Service till his Death. A poor Prince could not have been able to have manag'd this Affair, which turn'd so much to the King's Advantage at that time; tho' I am of Opinion, in the end it will be a Prejudice to him, for they are now so us'd to Money, (which was a Stranger to them before) especially Gold, that it was like to have rais'd a civil War among'em, which was the only thing that was capable of ruining, or doing them any Mischief: for their Country is so poor and mountainous; and the Inhabitants of such a martial Temper, that few

A. D. 1478.
An Alliance between Lewis XL and the Swiss.

or

A. D. or none of the neighbouring Princes thought
 1478. it worth their while to endeavour to conquer
 them. When these Treaties were agreed on, and
 the *Swiss* in *Burgundy* had enter'd into the King's
 Service the *Burgundian* Power was utterly broken
 and destroy'd: To bring Matters to a Conclusion,
 the Governour, Monsieur de *Chaumont*, had
 perform'd several notable Exploits, he besieged
Rochefort, a Castle near *Dole*, commanded by
 Monsieur *Claude de Vaudray*; having taken it by
 Capitulation, he also besieg'd *Dole*, (where, as I
 said before, his Predecessor had been repuls'd)
 and took it by storm; the new revolted *Swiss*
 design'd to have got in, and defended it, but a
 Body of *Frank* Archers getting in amongst them
 (not with any Suspicion of their Design, but
 Desire of Plunder) when they were entred all
 of them fell to Pillaging, and the Town was burnt
 and destroy'd. Not long after he besieg'd *Aus-*
sone, a strong Town, but he held Intelligence
 with some of the Garrison; and wrote to the
 King for some of the Offices for them before his
 investing the Town, which was readily grant-
 ed. I was not upon the Place my self, yet I was
 well inform'd, both by the Report which was
 made to the King, and the Letters which were
 sent to him, of which I had frequently a sight,
 being employ'd by the King to return Answers
 to many of them. *Aussone* had but a small Garrison
 in it, and the chief Officers being in Treaty with
 the Governor, in five or six Days the Place was
 surrendred; so that there remain'd nothing in all
Burgundy for the King to take Possession of, but
 three or four Castles upon the Mountains, to wit,
Jeu and others, and *Bezanson*, which is an Imperial
 Town, not at all, or very little subject to the
 County of *Burgundy*; but being seated as it were
 in

The
 French
 take Dole
 by Storm.

Philip de
 Comines
 Secretary
 of State to
 Lewis xi.

in the middle of it, paid a sort of an Obedience A. D. to the Prince of that Country. The Governor 1478. took Possession of the Town, and the Inhabitants having paid him the Homage, which they were accusom'd to do to the Princes who had Possession of *Burgundy* formerly, he immediately quitted it. After this expeditious Manner was the whole Province subdued; and the King follow'd the Business very closely, as fearing the Governor desired some Place might still hold out in order to continue longer in his Command, and not be removed into another Country to serve him upon some other Expedition: for *Burgundy* is a plentiful Country, and he manag'd it as if it had been his own Inheritance, so that he, as well as the Lord *de Craon*, had feather'd his Nest there. This Province, for some time continued in Peace, under his Administration; but afterwards several Towns rebelled, as *Beaune*, *Semur*, *Verdun*, and others, (I was then present, being sent by the King with the Pensioners of his Household; this was the first time the Pensioners had ever any Officer to command 'em, and since they have never been without) which Towns were reduced by the Wisdom and Conduct of our General, and the Indiscretion of the Enemy. By this one may plainly see the vast Difference there is between Men, which proceeds from the Grace of God, who gives wise Ministers of State to that Nation he designs to support, and to the Prince that governs it, Wisdom to chuse them; and has made, and does still make it appear, that in all things he will maintain our Monarchy, not only in the Person of our late virtuous Master, but of this also, though he has sometimes suffer'd him to be in Affliction. Those who lost these Places the second

The Author's partiality to his own Nation.

A. D. 1478. cond time, were strong enough to have defended them, had they assembled their Forces time enough, and thrown 'em into the Town; but they gave the Governor Leisure to draw his Troops together, which they ought not to have done; for having Intelligence of his Strength, and knowing the Country was entirely in his Interest, they ought to have thrown themselves into *Beaune*; which was a strong Town, and more defensible than the rest. The very day the Governor march'd out into the Field to invest a little Town called *Verdun*; upon Information of their weak Condition, the *Burgundians* entered it, in their March to *Beaune*; they were in all, both Horse and Foot, six hundred choice Men out of the County of *Ferrete*, commanded by several old *Burgundian* Officers, among whom *Simon de Quingey* was one; they halted when they should have got into *Beaune*, (which if they had done) the Place had been almost impregnable, but for want of good Council, they staid a Night too long, were besieged in *Verdun*, and taken by Storm; and after them *Beaune* was reduced, and all the rest of the Revolters, the Loss of which Towns the *Burgundians* could never recover; I was at this time with the King's Pensioners (as I said before) in *Burgundy*, from whence I was

Philip de Comines, he had received that I had favour'd certain of the Citizens of *Dijon* about the Quartering of Soldiers. This Charge, with other little Suspensions, was the Cause why he sent me away suddenly for *Florence*; I obey'd him, as I had reason to do, and upon the Receipt of his Letters, set out immediately for *Italy*.



The first Alliance between the Swiss Cantons, viz. those of Zurich, Bern, Soleurre, Lucern, Vry, Smitz, Underwald above and below the Wood, Zoug and Glaris; and France, under Charles VII. Anno 1453.

WE Charles VII. King of France, &c. do in the first place promise by these Presents for our selves and Successors, that there shall always be a lasting Friendship and Concord, between our Subjects and Successors, and the Cantons of the old League of High Germany, and their Successors: And that we will give no manner of Assistance to any who shall make any Attempts against them; nor receive, nor agree to receive into our Kingdom, any who shall pretend to attack them.

2. That the Subjects of the Cantons of what Degree soever may pass and return with their Goods and Attendance, arm'd or unarm'd, a foot or on Horseback, thro' our Kingdoms and Territories, without any Molestation by Word or Deed, provided that by this Leave no Damage or Injury be done to our Subjects, the Princes of the Blood, Confederates and Allies: In confirmation of all which, we have affixed our Seal to these Presents.

This Treaty was ratified by *Lewis XI.* in 1463. And in 1470. a new Alliance made between that Prince and the *Swiss*, against the Duke of *Burgundy*, to this Effect.

WE *Lewis, &c.* shall in no time to come, either by our selves or others, separately or conjointly, give any Succour, Aid, Favour or Assistance, to the Duke of *Burgundy*, against our most dear Friends the Cantons of the Grand League, viz. *Zurich, Bern, Lucern, Vry, Switz, Underwald, &c.* so that they in general or particular may receive any Detriment in Body or Goods, or any other Way whatsoever: We also, of the said League promise never directly nor indirectly to give any Succour, Favour or Assistance to the said Duke of *Burgundy*, against the most serene Lord the most Christian King; so as that either he or his in general or particular, might receive any Detriment in Body and Goods, or any other way whatsoever, sincerely, and without all manner of Fraud. At the same time our Meaning is, that the Alliances made long ago between the said King and us be preserved inviolable in all Points, and in their perpetual Force and Vigour. Given at *Tours*, Sept. 20. 1470. and the 10th of our Reign.



A stricter Alliance between Lewis XI. and the Swiss Cantons, 1474.

In the first Place, **T**HE King in all and every of his Wars, and especially against the Duke of Burgundy, and all others, is faithfully to aid, succour and defend us at his own Charge.

2. He shall as long as he lives, be bound to pay us every Year, in his City of Lyons, the Sum of 20000 Franks, viz. 5000 every Quarter, to be distributed equally between our Parties: And if the King, in his Wars and Armies has occasion for our Help, and does require it, we shall then be obliged at his Charge to supply him with such a Number of Troops armed as we shall think proper, and are able: That is, in case we be not engaged in a War of our own; and he shall pay every Soldier four Florins and a half of the Rhine a Month, allowing twelve Months in the Year.

3. The King, when he shall require our Assistance, shall in one of the Towns of Zurich, Bern, or Lucern, have a Months Pay for every Soldier that shall be raised for him, and two Months Pay in the City of Geneva, or some other Places, as most commodious, and at the Choice of the Cantons.

4. The three Months Pay shall commence from the Day that our Men shall quit their Homes: They shall enjoy the same Privileges as the King's own Subjects; and at what time soever we shall require the said King to send us Succours in our Wars against the Duke of Burgundy, and that by reason of his other Wars he is engaged in, he cannot do it; then to

the End we may be able to maintain our said Wars, the said King shall, as long as we shall continue in Arms, pay us in the City of Lyons the Sum of 20000 Florins of the Rhine, per Quarter, without Prejudice, and over and above the Sum above mention'd.

5. And when we shall make a Peace, or a Truce with the Duke of Burgundy, or any other Enemy of the King or us, we shall be obliged particularly to include the said King therein; and he is to do the same by us in all his Wars, against the Duke of Burgundy and others.

6. Both the Parties include their Allies in this Treaty.

7. At the instant that we are engaged in a War with the Duke of Burgundy, the King shall sincerely and with all his Might levy War against the said Duke, and do every thing as is usual in War, both for his and our Advantage, without Fraud or Deceit.

8. We will maintain this Union and Friendship inviolably, which is to last during the King's Life. We have in the usual Form deliver'd these Presents to the King, who has done the same to us.

Done Jan. 10. 1474.

CHAP.

CHAP. V.

Of the Lord of Argenton's being sent to Florence during the Wars in Burgundy, and his receiving Homage of the Duke of Milan, in the King's Name, for the Dutchy of Genoa.



THE Design of my going in- A. D.
to Italy, was to adjust a Diffe- 1478.
rence between two illustrious Fa-
milies, very eminent in those
Days. One was the Family of
the Medicis, the other of the Pa-

ciis; which last, being supported by the Pope, and Ferrand King of Naples, endeavoured to cut off (a) Laurence de Medicis, and all his Adherents: They fail'd in their Design upon Laurence de Medicis; but they slew his Brother (b) Julian in the great Church in Florence, and with him one (c) Feuguinet, (a Person of Honour, and a Partizan of the House of Medicis) who threw himself before Julian, in hopes to have saved him. Laurence was much wounded, but made his Retreat into the Vestry of the Church, whose Doors were of Copper, and given as a free Gift by his Father. A Servant whom he had delivered out of Prison but two Days before, did him considerable Service; and receiv'd several Wounds

(a) Surnamed the Magnanimous, Governor of the Republick of Florence.

(b) Father of Julius de Medicis, who was afterwards Pope, by the Name of Clement VIII.

(c) Fransquin Noli, which comes nearer to Francesco Nori, mention'd in Machiavel's History of Florence.

A. D. 1478. which were aim'd at *Laurence*. This Affassination was committed at the time of high Mass, and the Moment appointed for Execution ; was when the Priest should begin the *Sanctus* : But it fell out otherwise than was design'd ; for supposing all sure, some of the Conspirators ran to the Palace, to kill the Senators which were there, (which Senate consisted of about Nine Persons, has the whole Administration of the Affairs of that City, and is chang'd every three Months ;) but being ill-back'd, and having run up stairs into the Palace, some body pulled one of the Doors after them ; so that when they were got up, there were not above four or five, and those in a such a terrible Consternation, that they knew not what to say or do. The Senators, and their Servants that attended them, perceiving the Astonishment of the Conspirators, look'd out of the Windows, saw all the Town in Confusion, and heard Signor *James de Pacis*, and his Accomplices, crying out in the Palace Yard, *Liberta, Liberta, Popolo, Popolo*, thinking by this Means to have stirr'd up the People to have taken their Parts, and join'd with 'em in the Insurrection, but they were mightily mistaken in their Designs : for the Mob kept themselves very quiet, upon which *James de Pacis*, and his Adherents, despairing of Success, betook themselves to flight. The Governors and Magistrates of the City, who were then in the Palace, finding how Matters went, immediately seiz'd upon the five or six who were got up into the Rooms, with a Design to have murder'd them ; and caused them to be hanged at the Bars of the Palace- Windows, among whom was (d) the Arch-

A Conspira-
racy in
Florence,
against the
Family of
the Medi-
cis,

(a) *Francis Salviati*, Archbishop of Pisa.

Bishop of *Pisa*: The Senators finding the People unanimously declare for the House of *Medicis*, sent immediately to all the Passes upon the Road, to stop and apprehend all Persons that were found flying, and to bring them before the Senate. *James de Pacis* was presently apprehended, and with him an Officer of the Pope's, who had the Command of a Brigade under the Count *Hieronymo*, who was privy to and concern'd in the Plot. *Pacis* and his Accomplices were hang'd up at the same Windows by their Brethren; but the Pope's Officer had the Favour of being beheaded: Several more were discover'd in the Town, (and amongst them *Francisco de Pacis*) and all hang'd immediately; so that in the whole there were about fourteen or fifteen Persons of Quality hanged, besides Servants which were kill'd in the Town.

A. D.
1478.

Not long after this Accident, I arriv'd at *Florence* in Quality of an Agent for the King; having made no stay since I left *Burgundy*, unless it were two or three Days with the Dutches of *Savoy*, the King's Sister, who received me very graciously. From thence I proceeded to *Milan*, where I continued two or three Days likewise to sollicite Supplies for the said *Florentines*, with whom at that time the *Milanois* were in Alliance. The *Milanois* granted them very freely, it being their own Duty as well as the King's Request, and sent 'em immediately a Re-inforcement of 300 Men at Arms, and afterwards a greater. In short, the Pope, immediately upon this Tumult in *Florence*, excommunicated the *Florentines*; and caused his own Army, in Conjunction with that of the King of *Naples*, to march. The *Neapolitan* Army was numerous, made a fine Appearance, and had abundance of brave Soldiers in it. They first

A. D. 1478. besieged *Castellina*, not far from *Senes*, and took it, with several other Places ; so that it was a great hazard but the *Florentines* had been utterly ruin'd, for they had enjoy'd a long Peace, and were not sensible of their Danger : *Laurence de Medicis*, who was Governor in that City, was but young, and manag'd by Persons of his own Years ; yet his Judgment was of great Authority among them ; they had but few good Officers, and their Army was but small : The Pope's and King of *Naples's* Army were commanded in chief by the Duke of *Urbino*, a wise Man, and a brave Commander ; with him there were likewise *Robert d'Arimini* (since a great Man) *Constantine de Pesaro*, and several other Officers, and two of the King's Sons, that is, the Duke of *Calabria*, and *Don Frederick*, both of them still living, and many other Persons of Quality. They took all Places which they besieged, but not with the same Expedition which we do in *France* ; for they were not well skill'd in the Art of Taking and Defending a Town ; but for encamping and supplying their Army with Provisions, and giving Orders for all things necessary for a Campaign, they understood that better than we. The King's Inclination toward them was in some Measure serviceable to 'em, but not so much as I could have wish'd ; for I had no Supplies of Men to reinforce them, more than what were in my own Retinue. I staid in *Florence* and its Territories a whole Year, was nobly treated at their Expence all the while, and with more Civility at last than at first : But being recall'd by the King, I set out for *Milan*, where I receiv'd Homage of *John Galeas*, Duke of *Milan*, for the Dutchy of *Genoa*, which Homage was perform'd to my Master by the Duke's Mother in her Son's Name ;

Name; after which I return'd to my Master, A. D. 1478.
 who received me very graciously, and admitted me more freely to his Affairs than ever before, permitting me to lie with him, tho' I was unworthy of that Favour, and tho' he had several Persons about his Court, more deserving of such a Familiarity than my self. But he was so discreet, and so sagacious a Prince, that no Minister of his could possibly miscarry in any Negotiation he was employ'd in, provided he acted directly according to his Instructions.

The Author's Testimony of the Wisdom of Lewis XI.

C H A P. VI.

Of Philip de Comines's Return out of Italy into France, and of the Battle of Guinegate.



UPON my Return from Italy, I A. D. 1479.
 found our King a little impair'd and decay'd in his Health, and inclinable to be sickly; yet not so much as to neglect his Affairs, which he manag'd himself, and was still engag'd in his Wars in Picardy, upon which his Heart was mightily set, and the Enemy was no less fond of it, if they could have got it into their Possession. The Duke of Austria (at present King of the Romans) having that Year the Flemings at his Command, invested Theroüenne, and the Lord des Cordes, the King's Lieutenant in Picardy, having assembled all the Forces that were in that Province, and the Frontier Towns, and joining them with eight thousand Frank Archers, march'd to relieve it: Upon

The Siege of Theroüenne.

A. D. 1479. on News of his Approach, the Duke of *Austria* rais'd the Siege, and advancing to meet him, they came to an Engagement at a Place call'd *Guinegate*. The Duke had 20000 Men or more out of the Country of *Flanders*, besides some few *German*s, and about 300 *English*, under the Command of Sir *Thomas Abrigan*, who had been in the Service of *Charles Duke of Burgundy*. The King's Cavalry were much more numerous than the Duke's, broke them immediately, and drove them and their Commander the Lord *Philip de Ravestein*, as far as *Aire*; upon which, the Duke join'd them with his Foot. In the King's Army there were about 1100 Men at Arms, old Soldiers, and of the standing Forces: All that Body of Horse did not follow the Chase, but the Lord *des Cordes*, who commanded in chief, pursued, and Monsieur *de Torcy* with him; tho' they behav'd themselves very bravely, yet it is not the Duty of any Officer that commands either the Van or the Rear, to follow the Pursuit. Some retreated under Pretence of defending their own Towns; others fled down right, but the Duke's Foot kept their Ground, though they were vigorously attack'd, having with them on Foot two hundred Gentlemen, all good Officers, and brave Men, and among them the (d) Count *de Romont*, a Son of the House of *Savoy*, the (e) Count *de Nassau*, and several others, who are still living. The Bravery and Conduct of these Gentlemen kept the whole Body together, which

(d) *James de Savoy*, Count *de Romont*, Baron of *Vaux*, Son of *Lewis Duke of Savoy*, and *Anne of Cyprus*.

(e) *Engelbert de Nassau*.

was very much, after the Defeat of their Cavalry : The King's *Frank* Archers fell a plundering the Duke's Waggon, and all that attended them, as Sutlers and others ; which being observ'd, some of the Duke's Forces rallied, attack'd, and cut off a great Number of them. On the Duke's side the Slaughter was greater, and more Prisoners were taken, but he remain'd Master of the Field of Battle ; and I am of opinion that if he had march'd back immediately to *Therouienne*, he had not met with the least Opposition either there or at *Arras* : yet he durst not venture, which prov'd highly to his Disadvantage ; but in such Cases one knows not always what Measures are best to be taken, and indeed he had some Reason to fear. I speak of this Battle only by Hear-say, for I was not in it ; but to continue my Discourse, I thought it necessary to mention it. I was with the King when he receiv'd the News of this Defeat ; his Majesty was extremely concern'd at it, for he had not been used to lose any thing, but had been successful in all his Enterprises, as if every thing had succeeded according to his Direction ; though to speak Truth, his Judgment and Penetration in State-Affairs contributed very much to his Success : For he would never venture any thing, and always endeavour'd to avoid a Battle ; nor was this fought by any positive Orders from him. His Armies were always so numerous, few Princes were able to cope with him, and he had a larger Train of Artillery than any of his Predecessors. His Method was to assemble his Troops on a sudden, and attack those Places that were ill provided, and slenderly fortified ; into which he immediately put such a strong Garrison, with a sufficient Quantity of Artillery, that it was almost

A. D.
1479.Lewis XI.
a very fortunate and
politick Prince.The French
Method of
getting
Towns in
the Low
Countries

A. D. most impossible to retake 'em : Besides, if the
 1479. Governor or any other Officer in the Town
 had a mind to betray it for Money, he was sure
 to have the King for a Chapman, and they need
 not be afraid to demand an extravagant Sum;
 for let it be never so exorbitant, his Majesty
 would certainly give it, rather than venture a
 Battle or undertake a Siege. He was mightily
 alarm'd at the first News of this Battle, suppo-
 sing he had lost all, and that they durst not tell
 him the Truth; for he was sensible, had it been
 an absolute Defeat, all that he had got from the
 House of *Burgundy* in those Marches and else-
 where, would certainly have been in very great
 Danger. However, as soon as he was inform'd
 of the whole Truth, and found Matters were
 not so bad as he at first imagin'd; he was better
 satisfied, and gave Orders that for the future no
 Battle should be fought without his Knowledge
 and Consent, and was reconciled to the Lord
des Cordes. From this very Hour the King re-
 solved to set a Treaty of Peace on Foot, between
 him and the Duke of *Austria*, but to manage the
 whole Negotiation purely to his own Advantage;
 and so to curb the Duke with his own Subjects
 (who he knew were as desirous as himself to have
 the Wings of his Authority clipp'd) that it
 should not be in his Power for the future to
 disturb or incommode him. He was likewise
 very desirous to make some new Regulations in
 the Affairs of his own Kingdom, for the Advan-
 tage of his Subjects, particularly about Delays
 and Protraction in Processes of Law; to this
 purpose he determin'd to restrain the Court of
 Parliament, not by Diminution of their Num-
 ber or Authority; but they took Cognizance of
 many things against his Consent, which occa-
 sion'd

The Design
 of Lewis
 XI. to re-
 form seve-
 ral Abuses
 in the Go-
 vernment.

tion'd his Hatred against 'em. He was also desirous to establish in his Kingdom one general Custom as to Weights and Measures; and that all the Laws should be written in *French*, and reduced into one *Code* or Abridgement, to prevent the Frauds and Prevarications of the Lawyers, which are greater there than in any other Nation in *Europe*, as the Nobility has often experienc'd to their Cost. And doubtless had God permitted him to live six or seven Years longer in Peace and Health, he would have enacted several excellent Laws; and done abundance of glorious things for the Benefit and Advantage of his Subjects; and it was but reasonable he should do so, for from the Beginning of his Reign to this Time, he had oppress'd and tyranniz'd over 'em more than all his Predecessors. But no Man's Authority or Remonstrance could persuade him, it must come of its own Accord, as certainly it would, if God had not afflicted him with Sickness: Wherefore 'tis best to make use of our Time, and do all the Good that lies in our Power, while we are in Health, and our Senses in perfect Strength and Vigour.

A. D.

1479.

The Peace which the King design'd to make with the Duke of *Austria*, his Dutches, and their Dominions, was to be effected by the Mediation of the *Gantois*, upon Proposals of a Match between the *Dauphin*, (who is now our King) and the Daughter of the Duke and Dutches, by which they should leave him the Counties of *Burgundy*, *Auxerrois*, *Masconnois*, and *Charolois*; and in Exchange the King would restore the Province of *Artois*, retaining only the City of *Arras* in the same Posture of Defence it was in, at that time of Treaty; for the Town was not considerable since the new Fortifications, which were

A. D. were very strong, were added to the City.
 1479. Before they fell into the King's hands, the Town was much stronger than the City, with a large Ditch, and thick Walls between them; but now the City was in a much better Posture of Defence, and kept for the King by the Bishop of the Place, contrary to the Practice of the Dukes of *Burgundy* for above a hundred Years together, for they always made whom they pleased Bishop, and put in a Governor besides: But the King, to shew his Authority, proceeded in a quite different Manner, caused the Town Walls to be demolished, and new ones to be raised about the City, which before (as I said) was weaker than the Town, with great Ditches betwixt them; so that in effect the King gave nothing in the Treaty, for he that was Master of the City could command the Town when he pleased. There was not the least mention made of the Dutchy of *Burgundy*, the County of *Boulogne*, the Towns upon the *Somme*, or the Chastellanies of *Peronne*, *Roye*, and *Mondidier*. The *Gantois* were extremely pleased with these Proposals, behav'd themselves very disrespectfully to the Duke and Dutcheß of *Austria*; and some of the other great Towns in *Flanders* and *Brabant* were as importunate and saucy as they, concurring in the Opinion of the *Gantois*, and particularly *Brussels*, which was grown prodigious rich, by reason that Duke *Philip* and *Charles* for a long time had kept their Courts there; and the Duke and Dutcheß of *Austria* had their Residence in it at that very time. But the long Ease and Pleasures that they had enjoy'd under the above-mention'd Princes, made them so far forget both God and their Sovereign, that at last they pull'd down Misfortunes upon their Heads, and occasion'd their own Ruin.

CHAP.

The shuffling Dealings of Lewis XI. with the Duke of Austria.

A.D.

1479.

C H A P. VII.

Of King Lewis's being surpriz'd with a Distemper, that for some time took away the Use both of his Senses and Tongue; of his Recovery and Relapse several times, and of his keeping himself in the Castle at Pleffis les Tours.



IN the Year 1479. in the Month of March, a Truce was concluded between the two Princes; tho' the King was very solicitous for a Peace, especially in those Places I have mentioned, which would have proved very advantageous for his Affairs. He began now to decline in his Age, Lewis XI. falls sick near Chynon. and to be subject to Infirmary, and as he was sitting at Dinner one Day at *Forges* near *Chynon*, he was seized on a sudden with a Fit that took away his Speech. Those who were about him took him from the Table, held him to the Fire, shut up the Windows, and tho' he endeavour'd to get to them for the Benefit of the Air, yet imagining it for the best, they would not suffer him to stir. It was in *March* 1479. when this Fit seized upon him after this manner, which depriv'd him of his Speech, Understanding, and Memory. It was your Fortune, my Lord of *Vienno*, to be present at that time, and act the Part of a Physician; for having order'd him a Glyster, and caused the Windows to be opened to give him fresh Air, he came a little to himself

imme-

A. D. immediately, recovered his Speech and his Senses in some measure, and mounting on Horseback, he returned to *Forges*, for he was taken with this Fit in a small Village about a Quarter of a League off, whither he went to hear Mass. He was diligently attended, and made Signs for every thing he wanted: Among other things, he desired the Official of *Tours* to come and take his Confession, and made Signs that he should be sent for, for I was gone to *Argenton* about 10 Leagues off: Upon my Return I found him at the Table, and with him Monsieur (f) *Adam Fumée* (Physician to the late King *Charles*, and at present Master of the Requests) and one Monsieur *Claude*, another Physician. He made Signs that I should lie in his Chamber; he understood little that was said to him, and his Words were not intelligible; but he felt no manner of Pain. I waited on him above a Month at the Table, and in his Chamber as one of the Gentlemen of the Bed-chamber, which I took for a great Honour, and it gave me great Reputation. At the end of two or three Days, he began to recover his Speech and his Senses; he fancied no body understood him so clearly as my self, and therefore would have me always to attend him. He confessed himself to the Official in my Presence,

Philip de
Comines
in great
favour
with Lewis
XI.

(f) Lord of *Roches St. Quintin* in *Touraine*, the chief Master of the Board of Green Cloth, and afterwards Keeper of the Great Seal of *France* in 1479. from the Removal of the Chancellor *Doriolle*, to the Year 1483. in which *William de Rochefort* was promoted to the Chancellorship. He was the Son of *Paul Fumée*, Governor of *Nantes*, who was sent to *Rome* by *Lewis XI.* in an Embassy to the Pope. The same *Adam Fumée* was Counsellor and chief Physician to *Charles VII.* *Lewis IX.* and *Charles VIII.* and died in the Year 1500.

for

for otherwise he could not have understood what he had said: There was no great matter in his Confession, for he had been at Confession a few Days before, because whenever the Kings of France Touch for the King's Evil, they confess themselves first, and he never mist touching once every Week, and if other Princes do not the same, I think they are highly to blame; for there are always great Numbers of People to be Touch'd. As soon as he was a little recover'd, he began to enquire who they were who held him by force from going to the Window; and having an Account of their Names, he banish'd them the Court, took away their Employments from some of them, and never saw them again. From some, as (d) Monsieur de Segre, Gilbert de Grassay Lord of Champeroux, he took away nothing, but banish'd them from his Presence. Many wonder'd at his Fancy, condemn'd his Proceedings, and affirm'd they had done what in their Opinion they thought for the best, and that they were in the right; but the Imagination of Princes are different, and all those who undertake to give an account of 'em have not Judgment enough to distinguish them. He was jealous of nothing so much as the Loss of his Regal Authority, which was then very great; and he would not suffer his Commands to be disobey'd in the most trivial Point. On the other hand, he remembred, that his Father King Charles, in the last Fit of which he died, took a Fancy that his Courtiers had a mind to poison

The Kings of France always go to Confession before they touch for the King's Evil.

A remarkable Instance of the tyrannical Temper of Lewis XI.

An unaccountable Distrust of Charles VII. a little before his Death.

(d) James d'Espinay Knight, Lord of Uffè, Segre, and St. Michel upon the Loyre, Chamberlain to Lewis XI.

D him,

A. D. 1480. him, to make way for his Son; and it made so deep an Impression upon him, that he refus'd to eat; and by the Advice of his Phylicians, and all the chief of his Favourites, it was concluded he should be forced; and so after a great Deliberation they forced Victuals down his Throat; upon which Violence he died. King Lewis XI. having always condemned that way of proceeding, took it very heinously that they should use any Violence with him, and yet he pretended to be more angry than he was, for the great matter that moved him was an Apprehension that they would govern him in every thing else, and pretend he was unfit for the Administration of publick Affairs, by reason of the Imbecility of his Senses.

After he had thus severely handled the Persons above-mention'd, he made an Enquiry into what had been done in Council, and the Orders which had been made for ten or twelve Days before he fell sick, of which the (e) Bishop of Alby, his (f) Brother the Governor of Burgundy, (g) the Marshal de G^{de}, and the (h) Lord de Lude had the principal Charge, and were most responsible, as being with him when he fell ill, and lodged under him in two little Chambers. He would also see all Letters and Dispatches as they arrived, and Couriers arrived every Hour, they shew'd him the Originals, and read them to him: He would pretend to under-

(e) Lewis d'Amboise.

(f) Charles d'Amboise.

(g) Peter de Rhoan.

(h) John de Daillon, mentioned before, Book IV. Chap. II. and Book V. Chap. XL.

stand them, take them into his own Hand; and make as if he read them to himself, when in truth he did not understand one Syllable of 'em: Yet he would offer now and then at a Word; and make signs what Answers should be given; but little Business was dispatch'd during his Illness, the greatest part hanging in suspense till we could see what would be the Event; for he was a Prince that requir'd all things to be done with the utmost Nicety and Exactness. This Indisposition continued about a Fortnight, at the End of which he recover'd his Speech and Senses pretty well; but he remained very weak, and in great fear of a Relapse, for naturally he was not apt to put confidence in his Physicians. As soon as he was a little recover'd, he releas'd the Cardinal *Ballae* out of the Castle of *Lockes*, where he had been a Prisoner for fourteen Years, tho' the Pope and other Princes had many times interceded for his Enlargement, of which Crime he was absolv'd afterwards by an Express Bull from his Holiness, which the King had solemnly requested. When he was first seiz'd with his Illness, those who were about him gave him over for dead, and Orders were given out for remitting an heavy Tax, which at the Instigation of the Lord *des Cordes* (his Lieutenant in *Picardy*) he had lately laid upon his Subjects, for the raising ten thousand Foot as a standing Force; and 2500 Pioneers, which were to be call'd the *Gens du Camp*; to which he added 1500 of his old standing Forces, who were to fight on foot upon occasion, among the rest; besides which he caused a vast Number of Tents and Pavilions to be made, and Waggon to inclose all, in imitation of the Duke of *Burgundy*, whose Camp cost him 15000 Franks a Year.

AD
1480.

Lewis XI.
a Prince
difficult to
be pleas'd.

A.A
181

A. D. When it was ready, he went to review this Body of new-rai'd Forces in a large Plain near *Pont del Arche* in *Normandy*. In this Camp there were the six thousand *Swiss*. I mention'd before, which was the greatest Number of them we had ever seen before. From thence he return'd to *Tours*, where he was taken with a new Fit, lost his Speech again, and for two Hours together every Body thought him dead, being laid upon a Straw-Bed in a Gallery, with several People about him: The Lord *du Bouchage* and I devoutly recommended him to St. *Claude*, and all that were present concurr'd with our Prayers; but immediately he recovered his Speech, and walk-

A. D. ed up and down the House, but very weak and feeble; and this second Fit took him 1481. He went into the Country as formerly, and particularly with me to *Argenton*, where he continued a Month together very ill; from thence he went to *Tours*, where he was also very sick, and undertook a Voyage to St. *Claude*, to whom we had recommended him, as you have already heard: At his Departure from *Tours* he sent me into *Savoy*, to oppose the Lords *de la Chambre*, *Miolans*, and *Bresse*, (tho' he was privately their Friends) for their having seiz'd upon the Person of the Lord *de Lins* of *Dauphiné*, whom he had recommended to be Governor to his Nephew Duke *Philibert*. He sent a considerable Body of Troops after me, which I carried to *Mascon* against Monsieur *de Bresse*; however he and I were agreed underhand. Being informed that the Lord *de la Chambre* was at the Duke of *Savoy's* Court at *Turin* in *Piedmont*, he gave me notice of it, and I caus'd our Soldiers to retire; for he brought the Duke of *Savoy* to *Grenoble*, where the Marshal of *Burgundy*, the Marquis *de Rothenlin*, and

and my self, went to receive and compliment his Highness. The King sent for me back to him to *Beaujeu* in *Beaujolois*: I was amazed to find him so weak, and wonder'd how he had Strength enough to bear the Fatigue of travelling so well as he did; but his great Spirit carried him through all Difficulties. At *Beaujeu* he received Advice, that the Dutches of *Austria* was dead of a Fall from her Horse: She had been set upon a hot-headed young Pad, that threw her down against a Piece of Timber, and was the Occasion of her Death. Others said she died of a Fever, not of her Fall; but be it which it will, she lived not many Days after, to the great detriment of her Friends and Subjects; for after her Death they never had Peace: The People of *Ghent* had a greater Love and Respect for her than her Husband, as being their Natural Sovereign. This Misfortune happen'd in the Year 1482. The King told me of it with a great deal of Joy and Satisfaction; being extremely pleased that the two Children were under the Tuition of the *Gantois*, who (he knew) were inclined to any Mischiefe that might weaken the Power of the House of *Burgundy*; and now he thought this was the only time to attempt something, because the Duke of *Austria* was young, his Father still living, involv'd in War on every side, a Stranger, and his Forces very weak; and the covetous Temper of the present Emperor made him less belov'd than the rest.

From that time the King began to sollicit the *Gantois* by his Agent the Lord *des Cordes*, about the Marriage of the Dauphin with the Lady *Margaret*, the Duke's Daughter, who is at present our Queen. The Lord *des Cordes* apply'd himself in this Affair to one *William Rym*, Pensionary

A. D.
1481.

A Treaty
of Mar-
riage be-
tween the
Dauphin
of France,
afterwards
Charles
VIII. and
the Lady
Margaret
of Flan-
ders.

A. D. 1481. of the Town (a cunning subtle Man) and Cap-
 penole the Town-Clerk, who was an Hosier, and
 a Person of great Reputation among the Peo-
 ple, who in Times of Trouble are soonest
 wrought upon by such. The King return'd to
 Tours, and kept himself so close, that very few
 were admitted to see him; for he was grown
 jealous of all his Courtiers, and afraid they
 would either depose, or deprive him of some
 part of his Regal Authority. He removed from
 about him all his old Favourites, especially if
 they had any extraordinary Familiarity with
 him; but he took nothing from them, only
 commanded them to their Posts or Country
 Seats: but this lasted not long, for he died a
 while after. He did many odd things, which
 made some believe his Senses were a little im-
 pair'd; but they knew not his Humours. As
 to his Jealousy, all Princes are prone to it, espe-
 cially those who are wise, have many Enemies;
 and have oppress'd many People, as our Master
 had done: Besides, he found he was not belov'd
 by the Nobility of the Kingdom, nor many of the
 Commons; for he had taxed them more than
 any of his Predecessors, tho' he now had some
 thoughts of easing them, as I said before; but
 he should have begun sooner. King Charles VII.
 was the first Prince who (by the Assistance
 of several Grave Men, which had served him in
 the Expulsion of the English out of Normandy and
 Guienne) gain'd that Point of laying Taxes up-
 on the Country at his Pleasure, without the
 Consent of the Three Estates of the Kingdom;
 but then the Occasions were great and indispen-
 sible to secure his new Conquests, and to dis-
 perse such People as were burthensom to the
 Kingdom: Upon which the Great Lords of

*The first
 Beginning
 of raising
 Taxes in
 France
 without
 the Con-
 sent of the
 People.*

France

France consented to what the King did, upon promise of certain Pensions in lieu of what should be levied upon them. Had this King lived long, and those who were then of his Council, without dispute he would have enlarg'd his Dominions considerably; but considering what has already, and what is likely to follow upon it, he has laid a great Load both upon his own, and the Souls of his Successors, and given his Kingdom a Wound, which will bleed a long time; and that was, by establishing a Standing Army, in imitation of the Princes of Italy. King Charles at his Death had Taxes laid upon all things in his Kingdom, amounting to 1800000 Franks, with which he maintained about 1700 Men at Arms, to be constantly in Pay, and in the nature of Guards to preserve the Peace, and secure the Provinces in the Kingdom; by which means there was no Free Quarter, nor riding up and down the Country, which was a great Ease to the People. At the Death of our Master he had raised 4700000 Franks; of Men at Arms about four or five thousand Foot for the Camp, and above 25000 Standing Forces; so that 'tis no wonder if he entertain'd such Jealousies and Fears of his Subjects, and fancy'd he was not belov'd by 'em: Yet as he was fearful in this case, he had Confidence likewise in several who had been brought up, and received their Preferments under him; of which he might have found many that would have died before they would have forsaken him in any thing. In the first place, no Body was admitted into *Plessis du Parc* (which was the Place where he kept himself) but his Domestick Servants, and his Archers, which were 400, some of which kept constant Guard at the Gate, while

A. D.

1481.

The miserable Life that Lewis XI. led before his Death.

A. D. 1481. others walked continually about to prevent its being surprized. No Lord, nor Person of Quality was permitted to lie in the Castle, nor to enter with any of his Retinue; nor indeed did any of them come in, but the Lord de Beaujeu the present Duke of Bourbon, who was his Son-in-law. Round about the Castle of Plessis he caused a Lattice, or Iron Gate to be set up, Spikes of Iron planted in the Wall, and a kind of Crows-feet, with several Points to be placed along the Ditch, where ever there was a Possibility for any Person to enter: Besides which, he caused four Watch-houses to be made all of thick Iron, and full of Holes, out of which they might shoot at their pleasure, and which were very noble, and cost above 20000 Franks, in which he placed 40 of his Cross-bows, who were to be upon the Guard Night and Day, with Orders to let fly upon any Man that offer'd to come near before the opening of the Gate in the Morning. He also persuaded himself that his Subjects would be mighty fond of divesting him of his Power, and taking the Administration of Affairs upon themselves, when they saw their Opportunity; and indeed there were some Persons about the Court, that consulted together how they might get in, and dispatch those Affairs, which at present hung in suspense; but they durst not attempt it, and they acted wisely; for the King had provided against every thing. He often chang'd the Gentlemen of his Bed-Chamber, and all the rest of his Servants, alledging that nothing was more delightful to Nature than Novelty. For Conversation, he kept only one or two with him, and those of inferior Condition, and of no great Reputation; who if they had been wise, might well think, as soon as he was dead,

dead, the best they could expect would be to be turn'd out of all their Employments; and so it happen'd. Those Persons never acquainted him with any thing that was sent or writ to him, unless it concerned the Preservation of the State, and Defence of the Kingdom; for he concern'd not himself for any thing, but to live quietly and peaceably with all Men. He gave his Physician 10000 Crowns a Month, and within the space of five Months he received of his Majesty above 54000. He also promised large Endowments to the Church, but it was never made good; for they were thought to have had too much already.

A. D.
1482.

A Treaty between *Lewis XI.* of France, and *Maximilian* Duke of Austria, as well for himself as his Children, at Arras, Dec. 23. 1482.

1. **T**HERE shall be a perpetual Peace, Union and Alliance between the King, Dauphin, and Kingdom, their Countries, Territories and Subjects on the one part; and Duke Maximilian of Austria, Duke Philip, and the Lady Margaret of Austria, his Children, their Countries, Territories and Subjects on the other; laying aside all Rancour and Enmity towards one another, any or all manner of Injuries, either in Word or Deed.

2. For the more firm establishing of the Peace, a Treaty of Marriage is agreed to between the Dauphin, the King's Son and Heir apparent to the Crown, and the

Art. D. *the Lady Margaret of Austria, only Daughter of the*
 1482. *said Duke, and of the late Mary of Burgundy, only*
Daughter of Duke Charles of Burgundy, now so-

lemnized when the said Lady shall be of Age for her

3. *As soon as the Peace is proclaimed, the said La-*
dy shall forthwith be conducted to Arras, and be put
into the Hands of Monsieur de Beaujeu, or another
Prince of the Blood authorized by the King for that
purpose; and the King shall take care to bring her up
as his eldest Daughter, the Wife of the said Dauphin.

4. *Upon the Delivery of the said Lady, Monsieur*
de Beaujeu, &c. shall swear solemnly, in the Presence
of the Princes and Lords who shall conduct her, in the
King's Name, that the Dauphin, when she comes of
Age, shall take her in Marriage, and proceed to the
Consummation of the same.

5. *The like Oath Monsieur de Beaujeu shall take*
in the Name of the Dauphin, being authorized there-
unto by the King upon the account of his Youth.

6. *In Consideration of this Marriage, the Duke of*
Austria, and the States of his Country, agree in their
own Names, and in that of Duke Philip, that
the Countries of Artois, Burgundy, the Lands and
Seignories of Masconnois, Auxerois, Salnis,
Bar-sur-Sein and de Noyers, shall be given in
Dowry with her to the Dauphin, to be enjoyed by
them, their Heirs by that Marriage, whether Male
or Female, for ever; but for failure thereof, to return
to Duke Philip and his Heirs. And seeing these
Countries, and the greatest part of the Province of Ar-
tois, are at present in the King's Possession; it's agreed
they shall be the Dowry and Inheritance of the said
Lady, to be enjoyed by the Dauphin, her intended Hus-
band, and her Heirs. But in case those Countries should
come into any other Hands than those of the Dauphin,
and the Heirs of this Marriage, the King, Dauphin,
and their Successors, Kings of France, may in that
case

case retain the said Counties of Artois and Burgundy, with the other Seignories, till the King's Pretensions to Lille, Doway, and Orchies are determined. And in case they are not adjudged to return to him, he and his Successors shall pretend no Right to them; but the Earls and Countesses of Flanders shall enjoy them as formerly. Moreover, as soon as the said Lady shall arrive at Arras, she shall be there received and declared Countess of Artois and Burgundy, and Lady of the other Territories.

7. From thenceforward the said County of Artois, except the Castle and Bailiwick of St. Omer, shall be governed according to its antient Rights and Privileges, as well the Cities as the open Country, by and in the Name of the Dauphin, her future Husband; and the Domain and Revenue, with the Officers of Justice and others, shall appertain to him.

8. The same thing shall be done in respect to the County of Burgundy, and the other Seignories.

9. The King, at the request of the said Duke and States, to restore Arras to its antient Government under the Administration of the Dauphin, by appointing Officers for that purpose; the King is content that the Dauphin shall do so.

10. As to the Town, Castle, and Bailiwick of St. Omer (which is in the Province of Artois) it's comprehended with the said County of Artois, in the Dower of the said Lady Margaret, and so shall be forthwith delivered into the Possession of the Dauphin, upon the compleating and consummating of the Marriage with her.

11. The Guarding and Government of the said Town, Castle and Bailiwick, from hence forward is to be put into the Hands of the Inhabitants, in order to be given up to the Dauphin, upon the Consummation of his Marriage; and they shall make solemn Oath before the King or his Commissioners, that during the

A. D. the Minority of the Lady they shall not deliver them up to the Duke of Austria, Duke Philip, or their Agents,

12. The like Oath shall be taken by them to the Duke of Austria, that they shall not deliver them up to the King, Dauphin, or their Agents, during the Minority, and till the Consummation of the Marriage.

13. For the better Support of the Town, the Domain thereof, &c. shall be apply'd towards it, during the Minority; neither shall the Town and Batlinwick pay the Tax called the Ordinary Aid of Artois.

14. As to the appointing of Officers, such as Bailiff, &c. the Duke, as Father of the Lady, shall have the Nomination during the said Time, and the Dauphin, as her intended Husband, the Institution: But if the said Lady should happen to die before the Consummation of the Marriage, the Inhabitants shall restore the Town, with its Appendixes, to the Duke of Austria, and Duke Philip his Son, or Successors.

15. The Privileges of the Town shall be maintained, and Justice administred in the same manner as formerly; and the Estates of the Place shall take care to provide for the Guard of it.

16. As to the neighbouring Forts and Castles, the Lords of them shall oblige themselves not to injure, but to assist them in the Defence of the same.

17. If a War should break out between the King and the Duke, they shall not intermeddle, or receive a Garrison from either.

18. It shall be free for the Inhabitants of all Conditions to go and traffick, or otherwise, into France, or the Dominions of the Duke of Austria, and other neighbouring Kingdoms and Countries.

19. Upon the surrendring of the Town up to the Dauphin, and the Lady Margaret, upon the Marriage,

riage, those Princes shall make Oath to maintain it, as a Member of the County of Artois, and the County of Artois, in all its Privileges, as their Predecessors, the Counts and Countesses of Artois have done, without Innovation in the Government there.

20. The King consigns the Provision made for the Town by the late Dutchess of Austria, and the Duke her Husband, for the Discharge of the Debts and Rents due from it.

21. The King and the Dauphin oblige themselves to pay the Debts contracted by the Dutchess, the Duke of Burgundy her Father, and their other Predecessors, by mortgaging the Revenues of the said County.

22. The Yearly Pensions assigned by the Dutchess, Duke Charles, &c. upon the Domain of the said Counties and Seignories of Burgundy and Artois, shall be continued.

23. In consideration of this Lady's Dowry, the King and Dauphin renounce all Claims and Pretensions upon the Dutchies, Counties, Goods, Moveables and Immoveables whatsoever, remaining after the Death of the Dutchess, the Lady's Mother.

24. In case, upon the account of Death, or otherwise, the said Marriage should not be consummated, the Dower, and the said Counties and Seignories, shall be restored to the Duke of Austria; but at the same time with a Salvo to the King's Pretensions to the Towns and Castellany of Lille, Doway, and Orchies.

25. If after the Consummation of the Marriage, the Dauphin should die (whether he leaves Children or not by the said Lady) she shall enjoy the Counties of Artois and Burgundy as her Portion, and withal 50000 Livres of Tournay yearly in Dower, assigned to her in Champagne, Berry, and Touraine.

26. If she should happen to die before the Dauphin, the Children shall succeed in those Territories that are

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AD. her Portion; and in case there are no Children, they shall revert to the next Heirs.

27. Neither the King nor Dauphin shall during the Minority of Duke Philip pretend to have the Government of the said Countries of Brabant, Flanders, &c. but shall leave them in the Condition they are.

28. If Duke Philip should die under Age, and the said Lady becomes his Heir, the King and Dauphin shall agree, that the Government of the said Countries shall continue upon the same Foot.

29. In case Duke Philip die without Issue of his Body, and that his Dominions fall to his Sister, and her Heirs, who shall also be Heirs to the Crown of France, the King and the Dauphin shall engage that the said Countries shall be maintain'd in all their ancient Rights and Privileges.

30. The King's Sovereignty over the Country of Flanders is acknowledged by the Duke and the States, and Duke Philip, when he comes of Age, shall do Homage for the same in the usual Form.

31. The King confirms all the ancient and modern Privileges of the three Members of Flanders, and particularly the Towns and Corporations of the Country of Flanders, the Towns and Chateaux of Lille, Doway, and St. Omer.

32. The Inhabitants of Antwerp shall have also their Privileges maintain'd.

33. Customs and Tolls shall be paid as usual.

34. Margaret Dutches of Burgundy, Widow of the late Duke Charles, is comprehended in this Treaty, and she shall have the full Enjoyment of the Lands of Chaullins and La Pierriere, upon the repaying of 20000 Crowns in Gold to the Country of Burgundy; and in case, by the Death of the young Duke, those Countries should come into the Hands of France, she shall be maintain'd fully in her Dower, and find all kind Assistance as a Cousin and Relation, from the King and Dauphin.

35. A general Act of Indemnity is agreed to on both sides, in as ample manner as could be desired by Offenders.

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36. The Subjects and Adherents of both Parties shall be reinstated in their Dignities, Benefices, Fiefs, Lands, Seigneuries, and other Inheritances, Rents, &c. without being called in question for any thing that happened during the War, and notwithstanding any Declarations, Confiscations, and Arrests, to the contrary whatsoever.

37. If the Inheritances of any Persons who followed the Fortune of the adverse Party have been sold in Court for the Payment of their Debts, they shall forthwith re-enter upon the Peace, and pay their Debts within a Year after; if not, the Order of Court shall stand.

38. In case the Debts were purely personal, for which the Inheritance of the Followers of the opposite Party have been sold; the Debtor shall return to his Inheritance without making any Compensation to the Purchaser.

39. The Subjects on both sides shall return to the Possession of their immovable Goods, as well before the Troubles begun in Duke Charles's Time, as after.

40. As to the Profits and Income of Estates, which have been levied by the Commanders of the respective Parties, those that received them shall never be accountable for them, and no Prosecution in Law, upon that Account, shall take Effect against them.

41. All personal Debts granted by the Princes, or pursuant to their Order, shall be theirs who had the Grant of them: As to all other Moveables in Being upon the Peace, they shall belong to those that had them before the War, without any Molestation, or any Impediment whatsoever.

42. The Town of St. Omer, and its Dependancies, are fully discharged of all Rewards, Remissions, &c. which have been granted them.

A.D. 1482. *The Duke of Austria, and his Children, are by this Treaty fully discharg'd of all Debts, they may owe to those who adher'd to the contrary Party, and they and their Descendants shall ne'er be molested for them.*

44. *Upon returning to their Possessions nobody shall take any Oath to the Prince or Lord under whom the said Possessions are, saving Vassals and Feoffees.*

45. *The Widow of the late Peter of Luxemburg, and the Ladies Mary and Frances, her Daughters, shall be restored to their Estates, as well those which they enjoy'd in the Life-time of Lewis de Luxemburg, Count of St. Paul, Madam Jane de Bar his Wife, and John de Luxemburg, Count of Marle, their eldest Son. In like manner, Monsieur de Croy, Count of Porcien, particularly to the County of Porcien, the Granaries belonging to the Castle of Cambray, Montcornet, and other Appenages, in the Saigniory of Bar-sur-Aube, and other Places in Picardy.*

46. *The King shall favour the Count de Romont, in his Pretensions to the County of Romont, and the County of Vaux; and as for the Princes and Princesses of Orange, the Count of Joigny, Liepart de Chalon, the Lord of Lorme, Messieurs William de la Beaume, Du Lain, Claude de Thoulangeon, and the Sieur de la Bastie, they are comprehended in this Peace, and shall be repossessed.*

47. *In like manner, the Monks of Anchin are restored to their Abbey; so are those of the Church and Abbey of St. Wast d'Arras, and the Inhabitants of Arras, whether they have withdrawn into the one or the other Prince's Country, shall freely return home, and follow their respective Occupations, without any Let or Hindrance, as before the War.*

48. *The Heirs of those who have been put to death for adhering to the Party opposite to him under whom they liv'd, shall return to their Estates and succeed;*

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The Widows also of such shall have their Rights and Dowries. A.D. 1482.

49. As to Persons enjoying their own, they shall not be obliged to go and reside where their Estates are, either in the one or the other Countries.

50. The King consents to free the County of Artois, the Towns of Arras, Aire, Lens, Bapaum, Bethune, their Villages, and the Chastellany of Lilliers, from the Tax called, The ordinary Aid of Artois, and all other extraordinary ones, for the space of six Years from the Day of the Date of the Peace. And seeing the late Dutchess of Austria hath exempted the Hospitals of Doway, &c. from paying any Taxes to the Country of Artois for their Inheritances; the King and Dauphin confirm the same Privileges.

51. Those who shall return to their Possessions shall not be accountable for any Rent due during the War; and the Lands, which by reason of the War have been untilld, shall have no Rent paid for them till next Christmas.

52. Those, who at their Entry upon Fiefs and Inheritances are obliged to pay Fines and other Duties to their Lords, shall have three Months allowed them to do it in, after the Peace, and so remain unmolested.

53. The Nobility and Feoffees of the Territories of the Duke of Austria, and his Son Philip, shall not be obliged to serve under any but them or their Lieutenants; and in case that they, or one of them, should be in the King's Service, if they are not there in Person, the other shall not be obliged to serve in Person, but may send another.

54. The Decrees and Sentences made in the Court of Malines, as also of the Grand Council of the Dukes Philip and Charles, the Dutchess Mary and the present Duke, shall remain firm, and not be brought before the Parliament of Paris, or any other

A. D. Sovereign Court. But those Suits and Causes, which
 1482. are not yet decided in the said Courts, shall be brought
 before the Parliament of Paris, and there be determined.

55. In like manner Mortmains, Compositions, New Acquests, and Ennoblings, made by the said Dukes and Dutches, shall remain good; only the Subjects of the Country of Artois shall be obliged to take new Patents for their Nobility, which shall be granted without any Charge to them.

56. The Abolitions, Remissions and Pardons granted by Duke Charles, his Daughter, and the Dukes of Austria, to the Countries of Flanders, Lille, Doway, Artois and Burgundy, shall be valid, only the Subjects of Artois shall sue them out as before.

57. The Inhabitants on the Frontiers of the Duke, and others subject to the French Crown, cited to appear in Person in the Court of Parliament, or before Royal Judges, shall appear only by their Proctors, during the Minority of the said Lady; and the same Privilege is granted to St. Omer. Those preferred to Livings by Duke Charles, his Daughter, &c. shall remain in quiet Possession of them, notwithstanding any Pretence of a Pragmatick, or the like, to the contrary.

58. Tournay, Tournesis, St. Amand, and Mortagne, &c. are comprehended in this Treaty; and any Places the King may have in the Dutchy of Luxemburgh, shall be restored to the Arch-Duke, and his Son Philip; so shall also the Houses of Flanders, and of Conflans, and the House of Artois, in the said Country.

59. After the Lady shall be delivered into the Hands of those appointed to receive her for the Dauphin, the Troops, for the Benefit of Trade, shall be withdrawn by the King from the little Places on the Frontiers; and for the larger ones, the Garrisons shall be regulated

lated to the Satisfaction of the Duke of Austria, and the States of the Country. A. D. 1482.

60. As for the Duke's desiring to have the King of England and Duke of Bretagne comprehended in the Treaty, it is answered, the English are in Truce with France, and for the Duke of Bretagne, the King is at Peace with him.

61. The King, after the Peace, will assist the Duke against William de Aremborg, a Ligeois, and all others that shall invade Brabant, &c.

62. The Duke's Subjects shall have all manner of Protection and Incouragement, in respect to Navigation and Commerce, with those of France.

63. Any Prizes taken after the Publication of the Peace shall be restored, for the prevention whereof the Peace shall on both sides be proclaimed without delay.

64. Such as are Malefactors and Delinquents, after the Peace, shall be seized on both sides, and return'd to be punish'd by the Parties to whom they belong.

65. The Infractors and Violators of this Peace, be they who they will, shall be punished unfeignedly for an Example to others, in the Places where they are taken.

66. In case this Peace should any way be contravened, it shall not however be reputed an Infraction, or Rupture; but the Breach shall forthwith be made up, and Reparation made, without coming to Hostilities either by Sea or Land, before the King and the Dukes Ambassadors have met together to adjust the Difference in an amicable way.

67. It's agreed, that as soon as the said Lady is brought to Lisle or Doway, and before she be conducted to Arras, the Promises and Sureties which follow shall be given the Duke and States: That in case the Dauphin do not accomplish the Marriage in due time, the said Lady shall be return'd, at the King or Dauphin's Charge, to her Father or Brother, in one of the good Towns of Brabant, Flanders, or Hainault,

A. D. 1482. *nault, in the Duke's Possession; and the King and Dauphin in that case shall quit all Pretensions for keeping the Territories and Countries of Artois, Burgundy, Charolois, Masconnois, Auxerrois, the Lordships of Salms, Bar-sur-Seine, and Noyers, and surrender them to the Duke in the Name of his Son Philip, while under Age, or to Philip when at Age; reserving only the Homage and Sovereignty to him.*

68. *The King shall also, upon the Failure of the Marriage, renounce his Right to Lisle, Doway, and Orchies, and consent they shall belong for ever to the Counts and Countesses of Flanders.*

69. *The Signing, Sealing and Ratifying of all the Premises in ample and due form, shall be done by the Parties on either sides. The Treaty shall also be registred and verify'd in the Court of the Parliament of Paris, Chambers of Accompts, and of the Finances.*

The rest of the Articles being meer Matter of Form concerning the Observation of the Treaty, we shall omit them.

A. D.

1482.

C H A P. VIII.

Of the King's sending for the Holy Man of Calabria to Tours, supposing he could cure him; and of the strange things that were done by the King during his Sickness, to preserve his Authority.



AMONG Men renowned for Devotion and Sanctity of Life, he sent into Calabria for one Friar Robert, whom for the Holiness and Purity of Conversation the King called the *Holy Man*; and in Honour to him our present King erected a Monastery at *Plessis-du-Parc*, in compensation for the Chappel near *Plessis* at the End of the Bridge. This Hermit at the Age of twelve Years was put into a Hole in a Rock, where he liv'd three and forty Years and upwards, till the King sent for him by the Steward of his Household, in the Company of the Prince of *Tarento*, the King of *Naples's* Son. But this Hermit would not stir without leave from his Holiness, and from his King, which was great Discretion in a Man so unexperienc'd in the Affairs of the World as he was. He built two Churches in the Place where he lived; he never eat Flesh, Fish, Eggs, Milk, or any thing that was fat, since he undertook that Austerity of Life; and truly I

*The Super-
stition of
Philip de
Comines.*

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A. D. 1482. he made himself so much admir'd. This Hermit passed through *Naples*, where he was respected, and visited (with as much Pomp and Ceremony, as if he had been the Pope's Legate) both by the King of *Naples* and his Children, with whom he convers'd as if he had been all Days of his Life a Courtier. From thence he went to *Rome*, where he was visited by the Cardinals, had Audience three times of the Pope, and was every time alone with him three or four Hours; sitting always in a rich Chair placed on purpose for him (which was great Honour for a Person in his private Capacity) and answering so discreetly to every thing that was ask'd him, that every Body was extremely astonish'd at it, and his Holiness granted him leave to erect a new Order, called the *Hermits of St. Francis*. From *Rome* he came to our King, who paid him the same Adoration, as he would have done to the Pope himself, falling down upon his Knees before him, and begging him to prolong his Life: He reply'd as a prudent Man ought. I have heard him often in Discourse with the King that now is, in the Presence of all the Nobility of the Kingdom; and that not above two Months ago, and it seem'd to me, whatever he said or remonstrated, was done by Inspiration; or else it was impossible for him to have spoken of some things that he discours'd of. He is still living, and may grow either better or worse, and therefore I will say nothing. There were some of the Courtiers that made a Jest of the King's sending for this Hermit, and called him the *Holy Man* by way of Banter; but they knew not the Thoughts of that wise King, and had not seen what it was that induced him to do it.

The first
Institution
of the Or-
der of the
Hermits of
St. Fran-
cis.

Our King was at *Plessis* with little Company A. D. 1482. but his Archers, and the Jealousies mentioned before, against which he had carefully provided; for he left no Person, of whom he had any Suspicion either in Town or Country; but he sent his Archers not only to warn, but to conduct them away. No Business was communicated to him, but what was of great importance, and highly concerned him. To look upon him, one would have thought him rather a dead than a living Man. He was grown so lean, it was scarce credible: His Clothes were now richer and more magnificent than they had ever been before; his Gowns were all of Crimson Sattin, lin'd with rich Martins Furs, of which he gave to several, without being demanded; for no Person durst ask a Favour, or scarce speak to him of any thing. He inflicted very severe Punishments, for fear of losing his Authority, as he told me himself. He removed Officers, disbanded Soldiers, retrench'd Pensions, and sometimes took them away quite; so that, as he told me not many Days before his Death, he pass'd away his time in making and ruining Men, which he did in order to be talk'd of more than any of his Predecessors, and that his Subjects might take notice he was not yet dead; for few were admitted into his Presence (as I said before) and when they heard of his Figaries, no body could easily believe he was sick. He had Agents in all foreign Courts. In *England* their Business was to carry on the Treaty of Marriage, and pay King *Edward* and his Ministers of State their Pensions very punctually. In *Spain* their Instructions were to amuse that Court with fair Words, and to distribute Presents as they found it necessary for the Advancement of

Lewis XI. affects to wear fine Clothes in his Illness.

Another Instance of the tyrannical Temper of Lewis XI.

A.D. 1482. his Affairs. In remoter Countries, where he had no mind his Indisposition should be known, he caused fine Horses or Mules to be bought at any Rate whatever; but this was not in *France*. He had a mighty Curiosity for Dogs, and sent into foreign Countries for them; into *Spain* for one sort, into *Bretagne* for another, to *Valentia* for a third; and bought them dearer than the People ask'd. He sent into *Sicily* to buy a Mule of a private Officer of that Country, and paid him double the Value. At *Naples* he caused all the Horses and strange Creatures to be bought up that could be found, and a sort of Lyons in *Barbary* no bigger than a Fox, which he called *Adits*. He sent into *Sweden* and *Denmark* for two sorts of Beasts those Countries afforded, one of them called an *Elk*, of the shape of a Stag, and the bigness of a *Buffle*, with short and thick Horns; the other called *Rengiers*, of the Shape and Colour of a Fallow Dear, but their Heads much larger; for each of which he gave the Merchants 4500 *Dutch Florins*. Yet when all these Rarities were brought to him, he never valu'd them, and many times would not so much as see the Persons who brought 'em to Court. In short, he behav'd himself after so strange and tyrannical a manner, that he was more formidable both to his Neighbours and Subjects than he had ever been before; and indeed that was his Design, and the Motive which induced him to act so unaccountably.

Strange
Fancies of
Lewis XI.
during his
Illness.

C H A P. IX.

A. D.

1482.

Of the Conclusion of the Marriage between the Dauphin and Margaret of Flanders, and her being carried into France; upon which Edward IV. King of England, died with Indignation.

BUT to return to our principal Design, the Conclusion of these *Memoirs*, and the Affairs of all the Illustrious Persons of the Age in which they were transacted, it is absolutely necessary for us to speak of the Conclusion of the Marriage between our present King (then *Dauphin of France*) and the Daughter of the Duke and Dutchess of *Austria*, which was effected by the Mediation of the Citizens of *Ghent*, to the great Displeasure of the King of *England*, who found himself deluded in the Hopes he had entertained of marrying his Daughter to the *Dauphin*, of which Marriage both himself and his Queen were more ambitious than of any other Match in the World; and never would believe any Man, whether Subject or Foreigner, that endeavour'd to persuade 'em that our King's Intentions were not sincere and honourable. For the Parliament of *England* had remonstrated to them several times, when our King was in *Picardy*, that after he had conquer'd that Province he would certainly fall upon *Calais* and *Guynes*, which are not far off. The Ambassadors from the Duke and Dutchess of *Austria*, as also those from the Duke of *Bretagne*, who were in *Eng-*
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A. D. 1482. *land* at that time, represented the same thing to him, but to no purpose; for he would believe nothing of it, and the Nation suffer'd for his Negligence and Incredulity: Yet I am intirely of opinion it proceeded not so much from Ignorance, as Avarice, as being afraid to lose his annual Pension of 50000 Crowns, which our Master paid very punctually; and besides, he was unwilling to leave his Ease and Pleasures, to which he was extremely given. There was a Conference at *Halois* in *Flanders* about this Marriage, where the Duke of *Austria* (now King of the *Romans*) was present, with several Commissioners from the three Estates of *Flanders*, *Brabant*, and other Territories belonging to the Duke and his Children. There the *Gantois* acted several things contrary to the Duke's Inclination; they banished his Officers, removed whom they pleased from about his Son, told him their Desire to have the Marriage concluded, in order to Peace, and forced him to an Accommodation, whether he would or not. The Duke was very young, had but few about him that were proper to manage an Affair of that Importance; for all the Brave Men belonging to the House of *Burgundy* were either slain or revolted (as I said before) or at least the greatest part, I mean of such as were fit to be Statesmen, and capable of advising him; so that coming thither with a small Retinue, and having lost his Dutches, who was Sovereign in those Provinces, he lost much of his former Confidence, and durst not speak so boldly to his Subjects as when she was alive. In short, the King was inform'd of all these Proceedings by the Lord *des Cordes*, was very well pleased, and a Day was set for the Young Lady to be conducted to *Hesdin*.

A few Days before, in the Year 1481. *Aire* A. D. 1482.
 was delivered up to the Lord *des Cordes*, by the
 (a) Lord *de Cohem*, (born in *Artois*) for a Sum
 of Money, who had held it under his Captain *Aire sur-*
 (b) the Lord *de Beurs*, for the Duke of *An-* *render'd*
stria, a good while. The Surrender of this *to the* French.
 Town, which was very strong, and situated in
 the *Artois*, at the very Entrance into their Coun-
 try, spur'd on the *Flemings* to hasten the Mar-
 riage, for tho' they were well enough pleas'd at
 the Diminution of the Duke's Power, yet they
 did not care to have the King so near them upon
 their Frontiers. As soon as Measures were con-
 certed, as I said before, Ambassadors were sent
 to the King from *Flanders* and *Brabant*; but all de-
 pended upon the *Gantois*, by reason of their Force,
 that the Duke's Children were in their Hands,
 and they always the most forward in every Com-
 motion: With them there came, in behalf of the
 King of the *Romans*, certain young Noblemen
 much about his own Years, and but indifferent-
 ly qualified to make Terms of Peace for their
 Country: Monsieur (c) *John de Berghes* was one,
 and (d) Monsieur *Baudouin de Lamoy* was the o-
 ther, besides some few Secretaries. Our King
 was very ill, had no Inclination to be seen, and
 pretended great Difficulty to swear the Treaties
 in the manner agreed on; but it was because he

(a) *John de Berghes*, Lord of *Olebain* and *Cohem*.

(b) *Philip de Burgundy*, Knight of the *Golden Fleece*, Go-
 vernor of *St. Omers* and *Aire*; and afterwards of *Artois*,
 Son of *Anthony*, Bastard of *Burgundy*.

(c) *John de Berghes*, Lord of *Walbain*, and Knight of
 the *Golden Fleece*.

(d) He was Lord of *Molembais* and *Solve de Chateau*,
 and Knight of the *Golden Fleece*.

A. D. 1482. was unwilling they should see him ; however he was persuaded, and swore them at last, being much to his Advantage ; for whereas in all his former Overtures for the Match, he propos'd only the County of *Artois*, or *Burgundy*, or which of the two they pleas'd to assign him ; now the States of *Ghent* (as he call'd them) were contented he should have both, and the Country of *Masconais*, *Charolois*, and *Auxerrois* into the Bargain ; and if they could have deliver'd them, he should have had *Hainault*, *Namur*, and all the Subjects of that Family, (whose Inhabitants spoke *French* naturally) on purpose to weaken their Sovereign. Our Master was a cunning Politician, and understood well enough, that *Flanders* was of little Importance to him, unless he could have *Artois* with it, which lies betwixt *France* and them ; and is as it were a Bridle to the *Flemings*, affording good Soldiers upon occasion, to correct their Wantonness and Effeminacy ; and therefore in taking from the Earl of *Flanders* the County of *Artois*, he should leave him the most inconsiderable Prince in *Europe*, without either Subjects or Authority, but by the Permission of the *Gantois* ; whose Commissioners *William Rym* and *Coppenole*, whom I mention'd before, (Governors of *Ghent*) were at that time principal in the Embassy. Upon the Return of the Ambassadors, the Lady *Margaret* was conducted to *Hesdin*, and deliver'd into the Hands of the Lord *des Cordes* in the Year 1483. and with her (c) *Madam de Ravestein*, Duke *Philip* of *Burgundy*'s natural Daughter : There were

A. D.

1483.

(c) *Anne de Burgundy*, second Wife of *Adolphus de Cleves*, Lord of *Ravestein*.

appointed, and ready to receive them the pre- A. D.
 sent *Monsieur* and *Madam de Bourbon*; the 1483.
 Lord *d'Albret*, and others from the King; they
 brought her to *Amboise*, where the *Dauphin* at-
 tended her: If the Duke of *Austria* could have
 taken her from her Convoy, he would willing-
 ly have done it, before she had pass'd his Domi-
 nions; but the *Gantois* had plac'd too strong a
 Guard about her, for they began to abate much
 of their Obedience to him, and many considera-
 ble Persons join'd with them, as having the Cu-
 stody of the young Heir, and Power of placing
 and displacing whom they pleas'd. Among the
 rest of the Nobility who were resident in *Ghent*,
 there was the Lord of *Ravestein*, Brother to the
 Duke of *Cleves*, and chief Governor to the
 young Prince, whose Name is *Philip*, still living,
 and like to possess vast Territories, if it please
 God to spare his Life. But whoever was pleas'd
 with this Match, the King of *England* was high-
 ly affronted; for he thought himself deluded and
 baffled, and in danger of losing his Pension or
 Tribute, as the *English* call'd it. He feared likewise
 it would render him contemptible and mean at
 home, and occasion some Rebellion, because he
 had rejected the Remonstrances of his Parliament.
 Besides, he saw the King of *France* incroaching
 upon, and ready to invade his Dominions with a
 very great Force, which made such a deep Impres-
 sion upon his Spirits, that he fell sick upon it im-
 mediately, and died not long after; tho' some say
 of a (b) Catarrh. But let them say what they please,
 the general Opinion was, the Consummation of land.

The Death
 of Edward
 IV. King
 of Eng-

(b) There were various Opinions concerning this Prince's
 Death; some attributed it to Poison, others to Grief, but
 the Generality to a Surfeit, which is most probable.

this

A. D. this Marriage kill'd him in the Month of April
 1483. 1483. 'Tis a great Fault in a Prince to be obstinate,
 and rely more upon his own Judgment, than the
 Opinion of his Council; and sometimes it occasi-
 ons such Losses and Disappointments as are ne-
 ver to be repair'd. Our King was presently in-
 form'd of King *Edward's* Death; but he still kept
 it secret, and express'd no manner of Joy upon
 hearing the News of it. Not long after, he re-
 ceiv'd Letters from the Duke of *Glocester*, who
 was made King, stil'd himself *Richard III.* and
 had barbarously murder'd his two Nephews.
 This King *Richard* desired to live in the same
 Friendship with our King as his Brother had
 done, and I believe would have had his Pension
 continued; but our King look'd upon him as an
 inhuman and cruel Person, and would neither
 answer his Letters nor give Audience to his
 Ambassador; for King *Richard*, after his Bro-
 ther's Death, had sworn Allegiance to his Ne-
 phew as his King and Sovereign, and yet com-
 mitted that inhuman Action not long after, and
 in full Parliament, caused two of (e) his Brother's
 Daughters (who were remaining) to be degra-
 ded, and declared illegitimate upon a Pretence
 which he justified by the (f) Bishop of *Bath*, who
 having been formerly in great Favour with King
Edward, had incurr'd his Displeasure, was ca-
 shier'd, imprison'd, and paid a good Sum for
 his Releasment. This Bishop affirm'd, that
 King *Edward* being in love with a certain Lady
 which he nam'd, and otherwise unable to have
 his Desires of her, had promised her Marriage;
 and caused him to contract them, upon which

Richard
 III. an
 Usurper of
 the Crown
 of Eng-
 land,
 and Mur-
 derer of
 his two
 Nephews.

(e) There were at that time five of K. *Edward's* Daugh-
 ters alive, viz. *Elizabeth*, *Cecely*, *Anne*, *Katharine*, and
Bridget.

(f) Dr. *Thomas Stillington*.

he enjoy'd her, tho' his Promise was only to de- A. D.
 ude her : But such Delusions are dangerous, as 1483.
 the Effects frequently demonstrate. I have
 known many a Courtier who would not have
 lost a Fair Lady for all the Swearing in Chri-
 stendom. This malicious Prelate smother'd this
 Revenge in his Heart near twenty years toge-
 ther, but it recoil'd upon himself ; for he had a
 Son whom he was extremely fond of, and to
 whom King *Richard* design'd to give a plentiful
 Estate, and to have married him to one of the
 young Ladies whom he had declar'd illegitimate,
 (who is now Queen of *England*, and has two fine
 Children). This young Gentleman being at
 Sea by Commission from King *Richard*, was ta-
 ken upon the Coast of *Normandy* ; and upon a
 Dispute between those that took him, he was
 brought before the Parliament at *Paris*, put into
 the *Petit Chastellet*, and suffer'd to lie there till he
 was starv'd to Death : This King *Richard* him-
 self reign'd not long, for God on a sudden rais'd
 him up an Enemy without Power, without Mo-
 ney, without Right, (g) (according to my In-
 formation) and without any Reputation but
 what his Person and Deportment contracted ;
 for he had suffer'd much, been in Distress
 all the Days of his Life, and particularly a
 Prisoner in *Bretagne* to Duke *Francis* from the
 eighteenth Year of his Age, who treated him as
 kindly as the Necessity of his Imprisonment

(g) If no other Right is to be allow'd but what we call
 hereditary, in the strict Meaning of it, 'tis certain *Henry*
VII. had none ; since he claim'd under his Mother, who
 was then alive, and even out-liv'd him, without ever re-
 nouncing ; and if we should look farther back into his De-
 scent, we should find it so far from being clear in his Fa-
 vour that quite the contrary would appear to us from Hi-
 story.

would

A. D. 1483. would permit. The King of *France* having supplied him with some Money, and about 3000 *Normans*, the loosest and most profligate Persons in all that Country, he passed into *Wales*; where his Father-in-Law the Lord *Stanley*, join'd him with 26000 Men at the least; in three or four days time he met the bloody King *Richard*, fought him, slew him in the Field of Battle, crown'd himself King of *England*, and reigns at this present time. I have discours'd on this Subject already, but it is not improper to mention it again, if only to shew that God in our times has taken Vengeance for such Cruelties immediately, without delaying his Judgments: Several other Princes besides have met with the same Reward of their Villanies, in our days, had we but Leisure to enumerate them.

C H A P. X.

Of the King's Behaviour towards his Neighbours and Subjects during his Sicknes; and of the several things that were sent him from several Parts for the Recovery of his Health.



AFTER the Consummation of this Marriage, which our King had so earnestly desired, the *Flamings* were perfectly at his Command: *Bretagne* (which he hated so much) was at Peace with him, but he kept them in great Awe by the Number of his Forces which he quarter'd upon their Frontiers; *Spain* was quiet, and that King and

and Queen desired nothing more than to live in A. D. Peace and Amity with him, for he kept them 1483. likewise in perpetual Fear and Expence about the Country of *Roussillon*, which he held of the *Roussillon mortgaged to* House of *Arragon*, and had been given him by *John I.* King of *Arragon* (Father to the present King of *Lewis XI.* *Castile*) as Security for some Conditions which *by John II.* were never perform'd. The Princes of *Italy* King of *Arragon* were all ambitious of and courted his Friendship, for 30000 some of them were enter'd into an Alliance with *Crown*, him, and sent their Ambassadors often to his in 1462. Court. In *Germany* the *Swiss* were as obedient as his own Subjects: The Kings of *Scotland* and *Portugal* were his Allies. Part of *Navarre* was perfectly at his disposal. His Subjects trembled at his Nod, and whatever he commanded was executed without the least Difficulty or Hesitation. Whatever was thought conducive to his Health was sent to him from all Corners of the World. (a) Pope *Sixtus* (who died last) being inform'd that the King in his Devotion desired the Corporal or Vest which the Apostle *Saint Peter* used when he sung Mass; he sent it immediately, and several Reliques besides.

The Holy Vial at *Rheims* (which was never *The ridiculous Superstition of* stirr'd before) was brought to his Chamber at *Plessis*, and stood upon his Cup-boards Head *Lewis XI.* when he died, for he design'd to be anointed with it again, as he was at his Coronation. Some were of Opinion he design'd to have anointed himself all over, but that was not likely, for the Vial was but small, and no great Store

(a) *Innocent VIII.* succeeded him in the Year 1492. from whence one may guess pretty near the Time when the Author compos'd these Memoirs.

A. D. of Oil in it. I saw it my self at the time I speak
 1483. of, and also when he died, for he was interr'd
 in the Church of *Notre Dame de Clergy*. The
 (b) Great *Turk* that now is, sent an Embassy to
 him, which came as far as *Riez* in *Provence*, but the
 King would not hear him, nor permit he should
 proceed any farther; though he brought him a
 large Roll of Reliques which had been left at *Con-*
stantinople in the Hands of the *Turk*, all which and
 a considerable Sum of Money besides, he offer'd
 to deliver into the King's Hands if he would se-
 cure a (c) Brother of the *Turks*, who was then in
France, in the Custody of the Knights of *Rhodes*,
 and is now at *Rome* in the Hands of the *Pope*.
 From all which one may be able to judge of the
 great Esteem and Character he bore in the
 World for Wisdom and Grandeur; when religi-
 ous things dedicated only to Devotion, were em-
 ploy'd for the lengthening of his Life, as well as
 (d) things temporal and secular. But all en-
 deavours to prolong his Life prov'd ineffectual,
 his Time was come, and he must follow his
 Predecessors. Yet in one thing God Almighty
 favour'd him in a peculiar manner; for as he
 had made him more prudent, liberal, virtuous,
 and greater in every thing than the cotermpo-
 rary Princes who were his Neighbours and Ene-
 mies; so he suffer'd him to survive them, though
 it was not very long. For *Charles Duke of Bur-*
gundy, the Dutchess his Daughter, King *Edward*

(b) 'Twas *Bajazet II.* who succeeded his Father *Maho-*
met II. in the Year 1481. and died in 1572.

(c) 'Twas Sultan *Zemi*, who was afterwards imprison'd
 by Pope *Alexander VI.* in 1494.

(d) Some say he drank Children's Blood for the Reco-
 very of his Health.

of England, Duke Galeas of Milan, and John A. D. King of Arragon, were all dead; but King Edward, and the Dutchess of Austria a very little before him. In all of them there was a Mixture of Bad as well as Good, for they were but Mortals. But without Flattery I may say of our King, that he was possess'd of more Qualifications suitable to the Majesty and Office of a Prince than any of the rest, for I knew the greatest Part of them, and was acquainted with most of their Transactions; so that I do not speak altogether by Guess or hear-say.

The Author's Character of Lewis XI.

C H A P. XI.

Of King Lewis's sending for his Son Charles a little before his Death; and the Precepts and Commands which he laid upon him and others, before he departed.



IN the Year 1483. the King had a great Mind to see the Dauphin his Son, whom he had not seen for several Years before; for besides his being of opinion it was for his Son's Health to have but few come near him; he was afraid lest he should be taken out of his Management, and give occasion for some Conspiracy against him, as had been done by him against his Father King Charles VII. when at (a) eleven Years old he was taken away

(a) He must be at least eighteen Years old, for he died in the sixtieth or sixty-first Year of his Age, and was born at Bourges the 6th of July, in the Year 1423.

A. D. 1483. by some Lords of this Kingdom, and engag'd in a War call'd *la Praguerie*, which yet lasted not long, and was rather a Court-Faction than a solemn War.

The Com-
mands of
Lewis XI.
to the
Dauphin
his Son.

Above all things he recommended to the *Dauphin* certain of his Servants, and laid his Commands expressly upon him not to change any of his Officers, declaring that upon the Death of his Father *Charles VII.* and his Accession to the Throne, he had imprudently turn'd out all the good Officers of the Kingdom, both military and civil, who had assisted his Father in the Conquest of *Normandy* and *Guyenne*, served him in the Expulsion of the *English*, and contributed much to the Restitution of Peace and Tranquility; which rash Method of Proceeding proved highly to his Prejudice, for that was the Foundation of the War call'd the *publick Good*, (which I mention'd before) and which had like to have cost him his Crown. After the King had given these Documents to his Son, and concluded the Marriage above-mention'd, upon a *Monday* his Fit seiz'd him, (of which he died) and held him till the *Saturday* following, which was towards the latter End of *August* 1483. at which time I was present, and therefore I think my self oblig'd to say something of his Death. Not long after his being seiz'd with this last Fit, he was deprived of his Speech, as he had been formerly; and tho' he recover'd that again, yet he found himself much weaker, though indeed he was too weak before, had scarce Strength to lift his Hand to his Mouth, and was grown so meager and lean, every body that saw him pitied him. The King perceiving he had not long to live, call'd for the Lord *de Beaujeu*, (who married his Daughter, and is now Duke of *Bourbon*) and sent him to
Amboise,

Amboise, to his Son the King (as he call'd him): A. D. 1483. He recommended his Son to him, and all his Servants; gave him the Command and Government of the young King, and obliged him for several good Reasons, not to permit certain Persons to come near him; and had the Lord *de Beaujeu* observed his Commands strictly, or at least the best part of them, (for some were contradictory, and not to be observed) I am of opinion, considering what has since happen'd, it had been much better both for the Kingdom and himself. After this, he sent the Chancellor, with all that were under him, to carry the Seals to the King his Son. He also sent him a good part of his Guards, his Captains, the Officers of his Hounds and Hawks, and all others which depended upon his Sports: He desired all that came to wait on him to go to *Amboise*, and pay their Respects to the King, (as he called him) begging of them to be faithful and true to him, and by every one he sent him some Message or other, but more especially by *Stephen de Vers*, who had lived all along with the young King in quality of first Gentleman of his Bed-chamber, and was made Bayliff of *Meaux* by King *Lewis*. After the Recovery of his Speech, his Senses never fail'd him, and indeed were never so quick; for he had a continual Loosness upon him, which kept the Vapours from ascending to his Head. In all his Sickness he never was the Man that complain'd, which most other People do when they are ill; at least I am of that Nature, and I have known several of the same Temper, and the common Opinion is, that complaining does alleviate our Pain.

The last
Commands
of Lewis

The Pati-
ence of
Lewis XI.
during his
Sickness.

A. D.

1483.

C H A P. XII.

A Comparison of the Troubles and Sorrows which King Lewis suffer'd, with those he brought upon other People; with a Continuation of his Transactions till the Time of his Death.

Pains and Misfortunes ought to be consider'd according to the Quality of the Person that suffers.

HE was continually discoursing on some Subject or another, and always with a great deal of Sense and Judgment. His last Fit (as I said before) continued from *Monday till Saturday-night*. Upon which Account I will now make Comparison between the Evils and Sorrows which he brought upon others, and what he suffer'd in his own Person: for I hope his Sufferings and Torments here on Earth have translated him into Paradise, and will be a great Part of his Purgatory: And if in respect of their Greatness and Duration, his Sufferings were inferior to what he had brought upon other People; yet if you consider the Grandeur and Dignity of his Office, and that he had never before suffer'd any thing in his own Person, but been obey'd by all People, as if all *Europe* had been created for no other end but to serve and be commanded by him; you will find that little which he endured, was so contrary to his Nature and Custom, that he was as great a Sufferer as any. His chief Hope and Confidence was plac'd in the Hermit I spoke of, (who was at *Plessis*, and came thither from *Calabria*) he sent continually to him, believing it was in his Power to prolong his Life if he pleas'd;

fed; for notwithstanding all his Precepts and Recommendations to his Son, he had great Hopes of Recovering, and if it had so happen'd, he would quickly have dispersed the Throng he sent to *Amboise*, to wait upon his Son. Finding his Thoughts were so intent upon this Hermit, it was the Advice of a certain grave Divine, and others who were about him, that it should be declar'd to him, that his Condition was desperate, that he did but flatter and delude himself, and that there was no hopes left for him but in the Mercy of God; and it was also agreed among 'em, that his Physician, Dr. *James Coctier*, (in whom he had great Confidence) should be present when this Declaration was made him: This *Coctier* received of him every Month 10000 Crowns, as if that would have lengthen'd his Life. This Resolution was taken by Monsieur *Oliver*, to the end that he should lay aside all Thoughts of *Hermit* and *Doctor*, and apply himself wholly to the Settlement of his Conscience. As he had advanc'd Monsieur *Oliver* and others, as it were in an instant, and against all Reason, to Employments beyond their Capacities; so they took upon them impudently to open an Affair to him that had been more proper for other People; nor did they observe that Reverence and Respect towards him which was proper in such a Case, and would have been used by those Persons who had been brought up with him a long time, and in a meer Whim had been lately remov'd from Court but a little before. But as he had sent a sharp Message of Death to two great Persons whom he had formerly beheaded, (the Duke de *Nemours*, and the Count de *St. Paul*) by Commissioner; deputed on purpose, who in plain Terms told them

A. D.

1483.

A. D. 1483. their Sentence, appointed them Confessors, and acquainted them that in a few Hours they must resolve to die; so with the same Bluntness, and without the least Circumstance of Introduction, these imprudent Persons told him: *Sir, Things are now come to that pass, we must do our Duties; Do not place your Hopes any longer in this Hermit, or any thing else, for you are a dead Man. Think therefore upon your Conscience, for that is the only Remedy you have left.* Every one added some short Saying to the same purpose; to which he answer'd, *I hope God will assist me, for perhaps I am not so sick as you imagine.*

Lewis XI. *afraid to die.* What Sorrow was this to him to hear this News, this Sentence of Death? Never Man was more fearful of Death, nor used more things to prevent it than he? He had all his Life-long commanded and requested his Servants, and me among the rest, that whenever we saw him in any Danger of Death; we should not use any long Stories, but admonish him at a Distance to confess himself, without ever mentioning that cruel and shocking Word *Death*, which he did believe he should not be able to bear with any tolerable Patience. However, he endured that and several more things as terrible, when he was ill, and indeed more than any Man I ever saw die. He spoke several things, which were to be delivered to his Son, whom he call'd King; confessed himself very devoutly, said several Prayers according to the Sacraments he receiv'd, and call'd for them himself. He spoke as judiciously as if he had never been sick, discoursed of all things which might be necessary for his Son's Instruction, and among the rest gave Orders that the Lord *des Cordes* should not stir from his Son in six Months; and that he should be desired to attempt nothing against

against *Calais*, or elsewhere, declaring that tho' he had design'd himself to undertake such Enterprises as those, and with good Intention both to the King and the Kingdom, yet they were very dangerous, especially that of *Calais*, lest the *English* should resent it; and he left it in Charge, that for six or seven Years after his Death, they should above all things preserve the Kingdom in Peace, which during his Life he would never suffer. And indeed it was no more than was necessary; for though the Kingdom was large and fertile, yet it was grown very poor, upon the marching and countermarching of the Soldiers up and down in their Motions from one Country to another, as they have done since, and in a worse manner. He also ordered that nothing should be attempted against *Bretagne*, but that Duke *Francis* should be suffer'd to live quietly and in Peace, that both he and his Neighbours might be secure, and the King and Kingdom remain free from Wars till the King should be of Age to take upon him the Administration of Affairs himself.

You have heard with what Indiscretion and Bluntness they acquainted the King with his approaching Death; which I have mentioned in a more particular manner, because in a preceding Paragraph I began to compare the Evils, which he made several others suffer, who lived under his Dominion, with those he endured himself before his Death; that it might appear, tho' they were not perhaps of so long a Duration, that they were as great and terrible, considering his Station and Dignity, which required more Obedience than any private Person's, and had found more; so that the least Opposition was a great Torment to him. Some five or six Months before his Death, he began to grow jealous

of

A.D.

1483.

A. D. of every Body (*a*), especially of those who were
 1483. most capable and deserving of the Administration of Affairs. He was afraid of his Son, and
 Lewis XI. caused him to be kept close, so that no Man saw
 grows jealous of his own Son or discoursed with him, but by his special Command. At last he grew suspicious of his Daughter, and his Son-in-law the Duke of *Bourbon*, and required an Account of what Persons came to speak with them at *Plessis*, and broke up a Council which the Duke of *Bourbon* held there by his Order. At the time the Count de *Dunois* and his Son-in-law returned from conducting the Ambassadors, who had been at *Amboise* to congratulate the Marriage betwixt the *Dauphin* and the Young Queen, the King being in the Gallery, and seeing them enter with a great Train into the Castle, called for a Captain of the Guards, and commanded him to go and search some of the Lords Retinue, to see whether they had any Arms under their Robes; and that he should do it in discourse, and so as no notice might be taken. Behold then, if he had caused many to live under him in continual Fear and Apprehension, whether it was not returned to him again; for of whom could he be secure, when he was afraid of his Son-in-law, his Daughter, and his own Son? I speak this not only of him, but of all other Princes who desire to be feared, that Revenge never befalls them till they grow old, and then, as a just Penance, they are afraid of every body themselves; and what

(*a*) It always happens, says *Seneca*, that those who endeavour to render themselves formidable to others, sooner or later feel the Effects of living in continual Fear and Apprehension; a dreadful Punishment no doubt of it, but it is what all Tyrants justly deserve.

Grief

Grief do you think it must be to this poor King to be tormented with such Terrors and Passions? A. D. 1483.

He was still attended by his Physician, Doctor *James Coctier*, to whom in five Months time he had given 54000 Crowns in ready Money, besides the Bishoprick of *Amiens* for his Nephew, and other great Offices and Estates to him and his Friends; yet this Doctor us'd him so scurvily, one would not have given such unbecoming Language to ones Servants, as he gave the King, who stood in such awe of him, he durst not forbid him his Presence. 'Tis true he complained of his Impudence afterwards, but he durst not change him, as he had done all the rest of his Servants; because he had told him after a most audacious manner one day, *I know some time or other you will remove me from Court, as you have done the rest; but be sure (and he confirm'd it with an Oath) you shall not live eight Days after it.* With which Expression he was so terrified, that ever after he did nothing but flatter and present him, which must needs be a great Mortification to a Prince, who had been obey'd all along by so many brave Men much above the Doctor's Quality.

The King had order'd several cruel Prisons to be made, some of Iron, and some of Wood, but covered with Iron Plates both within and without, with terrible Cages about eight Foot wide and seven high; the first Contriver of them was the Bishop of *Verdun*, who was (b) the first that hansel'd them, being immediately put in one of them, where he continued fourteen

(b) *Perillus* heretofore was put into the Brazen Bull that he had made for the Tyrant *Phalaris*, to punish his Subjects in. *Plin. l. 34. ch. 8.*

A. D. 1483. Years. Many bitter Curses he has had since, for his Invention, and some from me, having lain in one of them eight Months together, in the Minority of our present King. He also order'd heavy and terrible Fetters to be made in *Germany*, and particularly a certain Ring for the Feet, which was extream hard to be open'd, and like an Iron Collar, with a thick weighty Chain, and a great Globe of Iron at the End of it, most unreasonably heavy; which Engines were call'd the *King's Nets*. However I have seen many eminent and deserving Persons in these Prisons, with these Nets about their Legs, who have afterwards been advanced to Places of Trust and Honour, and received great Rewards from the King: Among the rest, a Son of the Lord *de la Grutuse*, (who was taken in Battle) whom the King married very honourably afterwards, made him his Chamberlain, and Seneschal of *Anjou*, and gave him the Command of a hundred Lances. The Lord *de Piennes* and *Verger*, both Prisoners of War, had Commands given them in his Army, were made his or his Son's Chamberlains, and had great Estates given them. Monsieur *de Rochefort*, the Constable's Brother, had the same, as also one *Roquebertin*, a *Catalonian*, and Prisoner of War; besides others of several Countries, too numerous to be mentioned in this Place. This by way of Digression. But to return to my principal Design. As in his time this barbarous Variety of Prisons was invented, so before he died he himself was in greater Torment, and more terrible Apprehension than those whom he had imprisoned, which I look upon as a great Mercy towards him, and part of his Purgatory; and I have mentioned it here, to shew that there is no Person,

Person, of what Station or Dignity soever, but is punished some time or other, either publicly or privately, especially if he has been the Cause of other Peoples Sufferings and Misfortunes. The King towards the latter end of his Days caused his Castle of *Plessis-les-Tours* to be encompassed with great Bars of Iron in the Form of a Grate, and at the four Corners of the House four Watch-Towers of Iron, strong, massy and thick, to be built. The Grates were without the Wall on the other side of the Ditch, and went to the Bottom. Several Spikes of Iron were fasten'd into the Wall, set as thick by one another as was possible: He placed likewise ten Bow-men in the Ditches, to shoot at any Man that durst approach the Castle till the opening of the Gate; and order'd they should lie in the Ditches, but retire to the Watch-Towers upon occasion. He was sensible enough that this Fortification was too weak to keep out an Army, or any great Body of Men, but he had no fear of such; his great Apprehension was, that some of the Nobility of his Kingdom having Intelligence within, should attempt to make themselves Masters of the Castle by Night, and having possessed themselves of it partly by Affection, and partly by Force, should deprive him of the Regal Authority; and take upon themselves the Administration of publick Affairs; upon pretence he was incapable of Business, and no longer fit to govern. The Gate of *du Plessis* was never open'd, nor the Draw-bridge let down before Eight in the Morning, at which time the Courtiers were let in; and the Captains ordered their Guards to their several Posts, with a Main Guard in the Middle of the Court, as in a Town upon the Frontiers that was closely besieged:

nor

A. D.

1483.

The miserable Confinement of Lewis XI. which he voluntarily suffer'd.

Lewis XI. still desirous to the last moment of absolute Power.

A. D. 1483. nor was any Person admitted to enter but by the Wicket, and those only by the King's Order, unless it were the Steward of his Household, and such Officers as were not admitted into the Presence.

Is it possible then to keep a Prince (with any regard to his Quality) more strictly confined than he kept himself? The Cages which were made for other People, were about eight Foot square; and he (tho' so great a Monarch) had but a small Court of the Castle to walk in, and seldom made use of that; but generally kept himself in the Gallery, out of which he went into the Chambers, and from thence to Mass, but not through the Court. Who then can deny but he was a Sufferer as well as his Neighbours? considering his being locked up, guarded, afraid of his own Children and Relations, and changing every day those very Servants whom he had brought up and advanced; and tho' they ow'd all their Preferment to him, yet he durst not trust any of them, but shut himself up in those strange Chains and Inclosures. If the Place where he confined himself was larger than a common Prison, his Quality was as much greater than a common Prisoner. It may be urg'd that other Princes have been more given to Jealousy than he, but it was not in our time; and perhaps their Wisdom was not so eminent, nor their Subjects so good. They too might probably be Tyrants, and bloody-minded, but our King never did any Person a Mischief who had not offended him first. I have not recorded these things purely to represent our Master as a suspicious and mistrustful Prince; but to shew, that by the Patience which he expressed in his Sufferings (like those which he inflicted on other People)

People) they may be look'd upon, in my judgment, as a Punishment which God inflicted upon him in this World, in order to deal more mercifully with him in the next, as well in those things before-mention'd, as in the Distempers of his Body, which were great and painful, and much dreaded by him before they came upon him; and likewise that those Princes, who are his Successors, may learn by this Example, to be more tender and indulgent to their Subjects, and less severe in their Punishments than our Master had been. I will not accuse him, or say I ever saw a better Prince; for tho' he oppress'd his Subjects himself, he would never see them injur'd by any body else.

A. D.

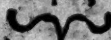
1483.

A fine Exhortation to Princes.

After so many Fears, Sorrows, and Suspensions, God, by a kind of Miracle, restored him both in Body and Mind, as is his Divine Method in such kind of Wonders. He took him out of the World in perfect Ease, Understanding, and Memory; having call'd for all the Sacraments himself, discoursing without the least Twinge, or Expression of Pain, to the very last Moment of his Life. He gave Directions for his own Burial, appointed who should attend his Corps to the Grave, and declared that he desired to die on a Saturday of all Days in the Week; and that he hop'd *our Lady* would procure him that Favour, in whom he had always placed great part of his Trust, and served her devoutly. And so it happen'd; for he died on Saturday the Thirtieth of *August*, 1483. about Eight at Night, in the Castle of *Plessis*, where his Fit took him on the Monday before. His Soul, I hope, is with God, and enjoys an everlasting Rest in the Kingdom of Paradise.

A.D.

1483.



C H A P. XIII.

A Digression concerning the Miseries of Mankind, especially of Princes, by the Example of those who reign'd in the Author's Time, and first of King Lewis.



The ordinary Diversions of Lewis XI.

His Vow of conjugal Chastity.

SMALL Hopes and Comfort ought poor and inferior People to place in the Riches and Honours of this World, considering what our King suffer'd and underwent to obtain them, and was at last forced to leave them all, and could not with all his Care and Diligence protract his Life one single Hour. I knew him, and was entertain'd in his Service in the Flower of his Age, and the Height of his Prosperity, yet I never knew him free from Labour and Care. Of all Diversions he loved Hunting and Hawking in their Seasons, but his chief Delight was in Dogs. As for Ladies, he never meddled with any in my Time; for about the Time of my coming to Court he lost a Son call'd *Joachim*, who was born in 1459. for whose Death he was extreamly afflicted, and made a Vow in my Presence never to be concern'd with any other Woman but the Queen; and though this was no more than what he was obliged to by the Canons of our Church, yet it was much, that his Command of himself should be so great, that he should be able to continue his Resolutions so firmly, considering the Queen, (tho' an excellent Princess in all other Respects) was not a Person in whom a Man could take any great Delight.

In

In Hunting, his Eagerness and Pain were equal to his Pleasure, for his Chace was the Stag, which he always run down : He rose very early in the Morning, rode sometimes a great Way to his Dogs, and would not leave his Sport, let the Weather be never so bad ; and when he came home at Night was always very weary, and generally in a violent Passion with some of his Courtiers, or Huntsmen ; for Hunting is a Sport not always to be manag'd according to the Master's Direction ; yet in the Opinion of most People, he understood it as well as any Man of his Time : He was continually at his Sports, lying up and down in the Country-Villages as his Recreations led him, till he was interrupted by the War, which for the most Part of the Summer was constantly between him and *Charles Duke of Burgundy*, and at Winter they made a Truce. He was also involved in some Trouble about the County of *Roussillon*, with *John King of Arragon*, Father of *Peter of Castile*, who at present is King ; for tho' both of them were poor, and already incumbred with their Subjects in *Barcelona* and elsewhere, and the Son had nothing but the Expectation of Succeeding after the Death of *Don Frederick de Castile*, his Wife's Brother (which fell to him afterwards) yet they made considerable Opposition ; for that Province being entirely devoted to their Interest, and being universally belov'd by the People, they gave him abundance of Trouble, and the War was spun out till that King's Death, in which several brave Men lost their Lives, and his Treasury was exhausted ; so that he had but a little Time, during the whole Year, to spend in Pleasure, and even then the Fatigues he underwent were troublesome to him. When his

A. D. 1483. Body was at rest his Mind was at work, for he had Affairs in several Places at once, and would concern himself as much in those of his Neighbours as his own, putting Officers upon all the great Families, endeavouring to divide their Authority as much as possible. When he was at War he laboured for Peace or a Cessation, and when he had obtain'd them, he was as impatient for War. He troubled himself with many Trifles in his Government which he might better have let alone; but it was his Temper, and he could not help it; besides, he had a prodigious Memory, he forgot nothing, but knew every body, as well in other Countries as in his own.

The restless and ambitious Temper of Lewis XI.

A short Account of the Life of Lewis XI.

And certainly he seem'd to be born for universal Monarchy rather than to govern a single Kingdom: I speak not of his Minority, for then I was not with him. But when he was Eleven Years old, he was by the Advice of some of the Nobility and others of his Kingdom, embroil'd into a War with his Father *Charles VII.* which lasted not long, but was called *La Praguerie*. When he was arriv'd to Man's Estate, he was married much against his Inclination to the King of (a) *Scotland's* Daughter; but he never had the least Tendernefs or Affection for her during the whole Course of her Life. Upon her Decease, by reason of the Broils and Factions in his Father's Court, he retir'd into *Dauphinè* (which was his own) whither many Persons of Quality

(a) Her Name was *Margaret*, she was Daughter to *James I.* King of *Scotland*. She had a loathsome Complexion, and a stinking Breath, which were the two Reasons why *Lewis XI.* never lov'd her.

follow'd him, and indeed more than he could A. D. entertain. During his Residence in *Dauphiné* he 1483. married the (b) Duke of *Savoy's* Daughter, and not long after had great Difference with his Father-in-law, and a terrible War was begun between them. His Father King *Charles VII.*, seeing his Son attended with so many good Officers, and raising Men at his Pleasure, resolved to go in Person against him, with a considerable Body of Forces in order to disperse them. As he was upon his March, he put out Proclamations, requiring them all, as his Subjects, under great Penalty, to repair to him; and many obey'd, to the great Displeasure of the *Dauphin*, who finding his Father incensed, resolved to retire, and leave that Country to him; and accordingly remov'd with but a very slender Retinue into *Burgundy* to Duke *Philip's* Court, who received him honourably, furnish'd him nobly, and maintain'd him and his principal Servants by the way of Pensions, as the (c) Count *de Comminges*, the Lord *de Montauban*, and others; and the rest he presented as he saw occasion, during the whole time of their Residence there. However, the *Dauphin* entertain'd so many at his own Expence, that his Money often fail'd, to his great Disgust and Mortification; for he was forced to borrow, or his People would have forsaken him, which is certainly a great Affliction to a Prince who was utterly unacquainted with those Courses: so that during his Residence at that Court too, he

*The great
Necessities
of Lewis
XI. when
Dauphin
of France.*

(b) *Charlotte*, Daughter of *Lewis Duke of Savoy*, married to *Lewis XI.* in the Year 1457.

(c) *John Bastard of Armagnac*, created Marshal of France in the Year 1461.

A. D. 1483. had his Anxieties, for he was constrain'd to flatter and fawn upon the Duke and his Ministers, lest they should think he had been too burdensom, and had lain too long upon their hands, for he had been with them six Years, and his Father K. *Charles* was still pressing and solliciting the Duke of *Burgundy*, by his Ambassadors, either to deliver him up to him, or to banish him out of his Dominions. And this you may believe gave the *Dauphin* some uneasie Thoughts, and would not suffer him to be idle : In which Season of his Life then was it that he may be said to have enjoy'd himself ? I believe from his Infancy to his Death, his whole Life was nothing but one continued Scene of Troubles and Fatigues ; and I am of Opinion, that if all the Days of his Life were computed in which his Pleasures out-weigh'd his Pain, they would be found so few, that there would be twenty mournful ones to one pleasant. He lived about sixty one Years, yet he always fancied he should never out-live sixty, giving this for a Reason, that since the time of *Charles le Grand* there had not any King of *France* lived beyond that Age ; but he was far advanc'd in his sixty first.

The Life of Charles Duke of Burgundy What Ease, what Pleasure, did *Charles Duke of Burgundy* enjoy more than our Master King *Lewis* ? In his Youth indeed he knew but little Trouble, for he did not begin to enter upon any Action, till the two and twentieth Year of his Age ; so that before that time, he liv'd in great Ease and Quiet. His first Quarrel was with his Father's chief Officers ; and the Father taking their Part, he immediately withdrew from Court, retired in a Huff into *Holland*, where being well received, he fell immediately into Intelligence with the *Gantois*, and went and visited them

them sometimes. He had no Allowance from his Father; but *Holland* being a rich Country, they made him great Presents, as several other great Towns did; hoping thereby to insinuate themselves into his Favour, and reap the advantage after Duke *Philip's* Death. And 'tis the common Custom of the World to adore the Rising Sun, and court him whose Authority will be greater, rather than him who is already at the Height, and can never be higher. For this Reason, as soon as Duke *Philip* was inform'd that the *Gantois* had express'd a great Kindness for his Son, and that he understood how to manage it: he answer'd, *They always love him who is to be their Sovereign; but as soon as he is invested with the Power they hate him as much.* And his Saying was true, for from the Time of Duke *Philip's* Death, and *Charles's* Possession, their Love began to decline, and they shew'd it to the Purpose; and he on the other side car'd as little for them; yet they did more Mischief to his Posterity than they could possibly do to him, But to continue these Memoirs. From the time Duke *Charles* undertook his War for the Towns in *Picardy*, (which our Master had redeem'd from D. *Philip*) and join'd himself with the Lords of the Kingdom in the War call'd the *Publick Good*: What Pleasure, what Tranquillity had he? He had continual Trouble and Labour, without the least Cessation or Refreshment, either to his Body or Mind; for Glory having got the entire Possession of his Heart, it spurr'd him on to attempt new Conquests, and invade the Dominions of those Princes that border'd upon his: He was always in the Field during Summer, exposing his Person to the greatest danger, taking the Care and Command of the whole Army upon himself; and yet he

A. D. 1483. thought it too little. He was the first that rose, and the last that went to bed in the Camp; and took as much Pains as the poorest Foot-Soldier in the Army. In Winter, when the Campaign was over, his Mind was busily employ'd about raising of Money; six Hours every Morning he set apart for Conferences, and giving Audience to Ambassadors, and in this perpetual Hurry of Affairs he ended his days, and was kill'd by the *Swiss* in the Battle of *Nancy*, as you have already heard; so that it cannot be said, that he enjoy'd one happy day from the Time of his setting up for Conquests to the Hour of his Death, and then what were the Fruits of all his Pains and Labour? Or what Necessity was there of it, since he had Towns and Territories large enough already to have made him happy, if he could have been contented.

The Ambition of Princes the Destruction of their Subjects.

The Life of Edward IV. King of England.

The next whom we shall have occasion to mention, is, *Edward IV.* King of *England*, a great and powerful Prince: In his Minority he saw his Father the Duke of *York* defeated and slain in Battle, and with him the (d) Father of the Earl of *Warwick*, who govern'd the King in his Youth, and manag'd all his Affairs, and to say the Truth, it was the Earl of *Warwick*, who made *Edward* King, and dethron'd his old Master King *Henry VI.* who had reign'd many Years in that Kingdom, and (in my Judgment, and the Judgment of the World) was their lawful King: But in such Cases, the Disposition of Kingdoms and great States is in the Hands of God, who orders them as he pleases, for indeed all things proceed from him. The Reason of

(d) *Richard Neville, Earl of Salisbury.*

the Earl of *Warwick's* espousing the Interest of A. D. the House of *York* against King *Henry*, who was 1483. of the *Lancastrian* Family, was, upon a difference that happen'd at Court, betwixt the Duke of *Somerset* and the Earl of *Warwick*. The King not having Wisdom enough to compose it, it grew to that Height, that the (e) Queen (who was of the House of *Anjou*, and Daughter to *Renè* King of *Sicily*) interposed in it, and inclin'd to the Duke's Party, against the Earl of *Warwick*; for every body had acknowledg'd *Henry* his Father, and Grandfather, for their King. The Queen had acted much more prudently in endeavouring to have adjust'd the Dispute between 'em than to have said, *I am of this Party, and will maintain it*; and it prov'd so by the Event, for it occasion'd many Battles in *England*, and a War which continued nine and twenty Years, and in the End all the Partizans of both Sides were destroy'd: So that Factions and Parties are still very fatal, especially to the Nobility, who are too prone to propagate and foment them. If it be alledg'd that by this Means both Parties are kept in Awe, and the secret Minds of the Subject are discovered to the Prince; I agree a young Prince may do it among his Ladies, and it may be pleasant and diverting enough, and give him Opportunity of finding out some of their Intrigues; but nothing is so dangerous to a Nation as to nourish such Factions and Partialities among Men of Courage and Magnanimity; 'tis no less

Parties among Ladies diverting; but among Men dangerous to a Nation.

(e) Her Name was *Margaret*, who after the Death of her Husband *Henry VI.* return'd into *France*, where she died, and made over her Right to the Kingdom of *Sicily*, to *Lewis XI.*

A. D. 1483. than setting ones own House on Fire; for immediately some or other cry out, *The King is against us*, seize upon some fortified Town, and correspond with his Enemies. And certainly the *Quarrel between the Houses of Orleans and Burgundy, from 1392 to the Reign of Charles VI.* the *Factions of Orleans and Burgundy* ought to make us wise in this Case; for they begun a War which lasted seventy two Years, in which the *English* were concern'd, and thought by these unhappy Divisions to have conquer'd the Kingdom. But to return from this Digression. This King *Edward* was a very young Prince, and one of the most beautiful of his Age: As soon as he had over-come all his Difficulties, he began to give himself up wholly to Pleasures, and took no Delight in any thing but Ladies, Dancing, Entertainments, and such like effeminate Diversions; and in this voluptuous Course of Life, if I mistake not, he spent about sixteen Years, till the Quarrel happen'd between him and the Earl of *Warwick*, in which Contest, tho' the King was driven out of the Kingdom, yet his Misfortune lasted not long; for he quickly return'd, fought his Adversary, defeated and kill'd him, and re-assuming the Government, fell again to his Pleasures, and indulg'd himself in 'em after a more violent manner than before. From this time he fear'd no body; but living a luxurious Life, he grew very fat, and his Excess inclining him to Diseases, in the very Flower of his Age, he died suddenly (as 'twas reported) of an * Apoplexy, and his Family lost the Kingdom, (as you have heard) as to the Succession in the Male Line.

* See the Note in Page 605.

In our time also there reign'd two wise and A.D.
valiant Princes, *Matthias* King of *Hungary*, and 1483.
Mahomet Ottoman, Emperor of the *Turks*: This *Matthias* was the Son of a valiant young Gentle-^{The Life}
man, call'd (f) *The White Knight* of *Walachia*, a ^{King} *Person* of great Honour and Conduct, who for a ^{of Hunga-}
long Time had govern'd the Kingdom of *Hungary*.
ry, and had fought several Battles with the *Turks*,
who are Neighbours to it, by reason of the
Territories which they have usurped in *Sclavonia* and *Greece*. Not long after his Death
(g) *Lancelot* came to Man's Estate, who was
Heir to that Kingdom, and to the Kingdoms
of *Bohemia* and *Poland* besides. This *Lancelot*
was advis'd by some Persons (as was repor-
ted) to seize upon the two Sons of the *White*
Knight, pretending that their Father having u-
surped and exercised so much Power in that
Kingdom during his Infancy, it was not impro-
bable but his Sons might do the same. Upon
which the said *Lancelot* resolv'd to have them
both apprehended, and his Orders were accord-
ingly obey'd. He put the eldest to death, and
sent the other, which was (h) *Matthias*, a Prisoner
to *Buda*, the chief Town in *Hungary*, but he did
not remain long under that Confinement; (God
Almighty being perhaps pleas'd with the Servi-
ces of his Father) for a while after, this *Lancelot*
was poison'd at *Prague* in *Bohemia* by a Lady of
Quality, (whose Brother I have seen) he had

(f) 'Twas so that they call'd the famous *John Corvin*,
alias *Hunniades*.

(g) Or *Ladislaus*.

(h) *Matthias Corvin*, Son of *John Hunniades*, was chosen
King of *Poland*, at the Age of Eighteen, after the Death
of *Ladislaus*, about the Year 1458.

A. D. 1483. been in Love with her, and she with him; but being incens'd at his Marriage in *France*, with the (i) Daughter of King *Charles VII.* (called now the Princess of *Vienna*) which was contrary to his Engagement to her, she poison'd him in a Bath, as he was eating an Apple, by conveying the Poyson into the Haft of his Knife. Upon the Death of *Lancelot*, the Barons of *Hungary* assembled at *Buda* for the Election of a King, according to an ancient Privilege they had when he died without Issue. Whilst they were mightily divided, and in great Controversie about the Election, the Widow of the *White Knight*, and Mother of *Matthias*, enter'd the Town in a very splendid Equipage, (for she was rich) especially in ready Money, which her Husband had left her, by the Power of which she was able to raise Men immediately; and besides 'tis not improbable but she had a Party in the Town, and among the Electors, upon account of the Services and Authority of her Husband. As soon as she came into the City, she marched directly to the Prison, and (k) releas'd her Son, upon which
part

(i) Her Name was *Magdalen*, Daughter to King *Charles VII.* Afterwards married to *Gaston de Foix* Prince of *Vienna*.

(k) Other Historians differ extremely from *Philip de Comines*, in this Particular; for they make no Mention of *Matthias's* being releas'd out of Prison by his Mother, but say, that King *Ladislavus* being hated by the *Hungarians* retir'd into *Bohemia*, and took this *Matthias* along with him as a Prisoner; where soon after the King died of Poison that was given him by a *Bohemian* Lady, according to our Author. After the Death of King *Ladislavus*, *George Boiebrae* usurp'd the Kingdom of *Bohemia*, and kept *Matthias* still a Prisoner at *Prague*; but the Nobility of *Hun-*
gary

part of the Barons and Prelates that were assembled
 fled out of the Town, and those that remain'd chose
 this *Matthias* for their King, who reign'd among
 them in great Prosperity, with as much Applause
 and Esteem as any of his Predecessors, and in
 some things more. He was a Man of as much
 Courage as any of that Age; and obtain'd many
 signal Victories over the *Turks*, without any
 Loss to his own Kingdom, which he much en-
 larged as well on that side towards *Bobemia*,
 (which was most in his Possession) as in *Wala-*
chia, (where he was born) and *Sclavonia*; on that
 side towards *Germany* he took the greatest Part of
Austria from the Emperor *Frederick*, and kept it
 till his death, which happen'd in *Vienna*, the
 chief City of *Austria*, 1491. He was a Prince
 who manag'd his Affairs discreetly both in Peace
 and in War. Towards the latter End of his Days,
 finding he was become formidable, he began to
 affect Grandeur and a splendid Way of Living,
 and provided a world of rich Hangings, Jewels,
 and Plate for the Ornament of his Palace. All
 his Business relating to the publick was dispatch'd
 by himself, or his Direction: He had also an
 Inclination to make himself terrible to his own
 Subjects, and turn'd a very Tyrant towards his
 latter End; after which he fell into a grievous
 and incurable Distemper as it were in his Youth
 (for he was but (1) eight and twenty Years of
 Age)

gary having chosen him to be their King upon the Account
 of his Father's eminent Services, sent to this *Boiebrac* to
 demand his Release, who not only set him at Liber-
 ty, but gave him his Daughter in Marriage, and sent him
 into *Hungary*, with a splendid and numerous Retinue.

(1) This Place is certainly corrupted. For *Matthias*
 was born the 24th of February, 1443. and died the 5th of
 April, at *Vienna*, in the Year 1491. So that by this Com-
 putation

A. D. Age) and died, his Life having been one continued Scene of Labour and Sorrow, without any considerable Pleasure or Ease.

The Life of Mahomet Ottoman, Emperor of the Turks.

The Great Turk (whom I mention'd before) was a wise and valiant Prince, but he made more use of his Cunning than Courage: His Father was a valiant Prince, took *Adrianople*, (that is to say the City of *Adrian*) and left his Son very great, but his Son at the Age of twenty-three took *Constantinople*, or the City of *Constantine*: I have seen his Picture drawn at that Age, which represented him vigorous and sprightly. It was a great Shame and Reflection upon all Christendom to suffer that City to be lost: He took it by Assault, and the (m) Emperor of the East (which we called Emperor of *Constantinople*) was slain at the Breach: many brave Men were killed with him in this Assault, many great Ladies ravish'd, and all manner of Cruelties committed. This was his first Exploit; but he continued to perform wonderful Actions, and so many that I heard a *Venetian* Ambassador say once in the Presence of *Charles* Duke of *Burgundy*, that this *Mahomet* had conquered two Empires, four Kingdoms, and two hundred Cities; he meant indeed the Empires of *Constantinople* and *Trebisonde*; the Kingdoms of *Bosnia*, *Syria*, *Armenia*, and I think *Morea* was the fourth. He conquered likewise several fair Islands in the *Archipelago* (where the *Venetians* have two) as *Negropont* and *Mitylene*: Besides which he subdued most part of *Albania*, and *Sclavonia*; and as his Conquests were great over the Christians, so were

putation he was eight and forty Years old, and therefore this 28 Years ought to be 48.

(m) *Constantine* II. Son of *Manuel*.

they

they no less considerable over those of his own Religion; among whom he destroy'd several great Princes, as the Prince of (n) *Caramania*, and abundance of others too tedious to mention here. The greatest Part of his Affairs were transacted by himself, according to the Practice of our King,

A.D.

1483.

(n) In some *French Books* 'tis *Carnia*, in others *Carmania*, but certainly it should be *Caramania*, which is a Sea-Province on the South-East of *Natolia*, containing the old Provinces of *Lycia*, *Pamphilia*, *Pisidia*, and part of *Cilicia*. For the better Understanding of this Passage, and who this *Carmanian* Prince was, it will be necessary to acquaint the Reader, that about the Year 1290. four illustrious Families, to wit, the *Ottomans*, *Assembecs*, *Scandelors*, or *Candelors*, and the *Caramans*, with powerful Armies commanded by their respective Captains came out of *Persia*. Every one of these Families conquer'd some Province or another: The *Ottomans* subdued *Bythinia*, *Phrygia*, and *Galatia*: The *Assembecs*, *Syria*, *Armenia*, *Cappadocia*, and *Paphlagonia*: The *Scandelors* possess'd themselves of the greatest part of *Pontus*; And the *Caramans* of *Cilicia*, *Lycia*, *Lycaonia*, and *Pamphylia*. But the *Ottoman House* at last swallowed up the other three. This *Mahomet* conquer'd the *Assembecs* in the Year 1459. However, it was some considerable Time before these People could be subdued, for their King *Usumcassanes* fought three bloody Battles with *Mahomet*; in two of which he got the better of him, but in the third, *Mahomet*, by the Help of Cannon, which was utterly unknown to the *Eastern Nations*, entirely defeated *Usumcassanes's* Army, and slew his Son *Zeinalde* in the Field of Battle. After this Defeat, *Mahomet* conquer'd *Cappadocia*, *Paphlagonia*, took *Trapezonde*, the Seat of the *Assembecs* Empire, with the greatest part of *Armenia* and *Syria*, as is mention'd in our Author. After this *Mahomet* took the greatest part of *Cilicia* from *Pyramitus*, Prince of the *Caramans*; and after the Death of *Mahomet*, his Son *Bajazet* slew *Abraham*, the last Prince of the *Caramans*, in Battle, and utterly destroy'd that Family. As for the *Scandelors*, after the Destruction of the *Assembecs* and *Caramans*, their Prince surrender'd his Country to *Bajazet*, who gave him in lieu of it, certain Revenues in *Natolia*.

and

A. D. and the King of *Hungary*, who were without all
 1483. dispute the wisest Princes that had reign'd for a
 hundred Years before. But the Generosity of
 our Master's Conversation, and his Liberality to
 his Servants, as well foreign as others, distin-
 guish'd him very much from the rest, and made
 him more venerable than either of the other two,
 and it is no wonder, for he was styl'd the most
Christian King. As to worldly Pleasures and En-
 joyments, this *Turk* had his Share; and spent
 most of his time in them, and 'twas well he did
 so; for otherwise he would have done more
 Mischief to Christendom, had he not been so
 employ'd. He indulg'd his Genius in all kinds
 of Sensuality, and was strangely given to Glut-
 tony, which brought him to an ill Habit of Bo-
 dy, and occasion'd a numberless Train of Disea-
 ses, which continued upon him as long as he
 lived. Every Spring he had a Swelling in one
 of his Legs, that made it as big as a Man's Mid-
 dle (as I have heard from those who have seen
 it) which never broke, but dispers'd of its own
 Accord, and no Surgeon could tell what to
 make of it, but all agreed his Intemperance was
 the occasion of it, tho' perhaps it was a Judg-
 ment from Heaven; and one Reason why he
 suffer'd himself to be seen so seldom, and shut him-
 self up in his Chariot when he went abroad, was,
 lest he should discover that Infirmary, and grow
 contemptible to the People. He died about the
 52d Year of his Age, and suddenly; yet he made
 a Will, and I have seen it, and if it be true, he
 seem'd to have some Remorse for a Tax which
 he had lately laid upon his Subjects. Let Chri-
 stian Princes consider what they do, since they
 have no more Power to raise Money without
 the Permission and Consent of their Subjects
 than he.

*A fine Les-
 son for
 Princes.*

The



The AUTHOR's Conclusion.

THUS have you seen the Death of several illustrious Persons in a short time, who have born so much Sorrow, and endured so many Fatigues, only to extend their Dominions, and advance their Fame and Glory beyond that of their neighbouring Monarchs; perhaps not only to the shortning of their Lives, but to the endangering the Welfare of their immortal Souls. I am not speaking here of the Turk, for I question not but that he is gone to his Predecessors; but of our King and the rest; of whom I hope God will have Mercy. But to speak freely, (as one that is no great Scholar, but has had some Experience in the World) would it not have been better for them, and for all other great Princes and Subjects whatever, to be less ambitious in all their Desires; that is, not to be so sollicitous and careful about temporal things, and have such vast and unreasonable Designs in view; but to be more cautious of provoking God, oppressing their Subjects, and invading their Neighbours, by so many cruel and unchristian Ways, as I have said before, and rather employ their Time in Tranquillity and innocent Diversions? Their Lives would be longer, their Infirmities the later, their Deaths less desirable to other People, and less terrible to themselves. Can we desire any clearer

clearer Examples to prove how poor and inconsiderable a Creature Man is; how short and miserable his Life; and how little Difference betwixt Princes and private Persons; since as soon as they are dead, whether rich or poor, their Bodies are abominable, all People fly and shun them; and their Souls are no sooner separated, but they repair to receive their Doom, which is given by God at that very Instant of Time, according to every Man's Works; and this is called, The Particular Judgment.



A
SUPPLEMENT
 TO THE
Memoirs of Philip de Comines.

CONTAINING

The most Remarkable Occurrences,
 both in FRANCE and other neigh-
 bouring KINGDOMS, from the
 Death of LEWIS XI. to King
 CHARLES VIII's Expedition to
 Naples, viz. from 1483. to 1493,
 or 1494.

C H A P. I.

*Of King Charles's Accession to the Crown, the
 Death of Monsieur Oliver, King Lewis's
 Barber, and others; and of the Resump-
 tion of King Lewis's exorbitant Grants.*



UPON the Death of Lewis XI. A. D. 1483.
 who died the thirtieth of Au-
 gust, in the Year 1483. his
 only Son Charles VIII. then
 Dauphin of France, came to
 the Crown. He was but thir-
 teen Years and two Months
 old, when his Father died; and therefore the
 H Solem-

A. D. 1483. Solemnity of his Coronation was deferred till the June following, that he might be full fourteen before he was crown'd. The King his Father had educated him at *Amboise* in such a private and solitary way, that none but his Domestic sticks were ever permitted to have Access to him; neither would his Majesty suffer him to learn any more *Latin*, than this single Sentence, *Qui nescit dissimulare, nescit regnare*; not that he had any Aversion to Human Learning, but only out of Fondness and Paternal Care, he was afraid that too great an Application to his Studies might weaken and spoil the delicate and tender Constitution of the Prince. However, King *Charles*, after his coming to the Crown, grew extremely desirous of Learning; applied himself very closely to the Reading of History, and other Books of Humanity in the *French* Language, and even endeavour'd to make himself Master of the *Latin*.

The Execution of some Persons, that had been guilty of notorious Crimes in the late King's Reign.

Before the King's Coronation, the Princes of the Blood, and the Nobility of the Kingdom, (who had so often been injur'd and affronted in the late King's Reign by *Oliver le Dain* his Barber, one *Daniel a Fleming*, Monsieur *Oliver's* Servant, and Monsieur *John Doyac*, who had manag'd the Affairs of the whole Kingdom during part of the Reign of *Lewis XI.*) caus'd Informations secretly to be exhibited against 'em, for several Murders, Rapines, and other enormous Offences, which they had formerly committed; tho' some of 'em were by the express Command of the late King. These Informations being brought before the Court of Parliament, they were immediately apprehended, their Process made out against them, and at last they were all three condemn'd to Death; and the Year

Year following, which was 1484. Monsieur A.D. *Oliver* and his Servant *Daniel*, were executed 1482. at *Paris*; and Monsieur *Doyac* had his Ears cut off, and his Tongue bor'd through. One of the Crimes committed by Monsieur *Oliver*, and his Servant *Daniel*, and for which they were executed, was this: A certain Gentleman was committed to Prison by the Order of *Lewis XI.* and having a very young and beautiful Lady for his Wife, Monsieur *Oliver* falls desperately in love with her, and promises to release her Husband by his Intercession, provided she would consent to prostitute her self to his loose Desires. Accordingly she did; but instead of performing his Promise, the very next Day he order'd his Servant *Daniel* to put him into a Sack, and throw him into the *Seine*, where he was drown'd. This *Oliver* was by Birth a *Fleming*, had been Barber to King *Lewis*, and of greater Power and Authority with the King, than any Nobleman in *France*. This Power and Influence which he had over the King, was gain'd by vile and slavish Offices about his Royal Person, too low to mention here; but among the rest, he generally us'd to suck his Majesty's Piles, with which he was terribly afflicted; and this base and loathsom Office he perform'd, not out of any Love or Respect to the King, but through Avarice, and an Ambition to maintain his Power and Credit at Court; which ended immediately upon the Death of his Master, as you have already heard, notwithstanding the strict Charge the King gave his Son upon his Death-bed, to continue his Favour to Monsieur *Oliver*; and not to suffer what he had generously given him, to be taken from him, since by his Service, his Life had been long preserv'd. But notwith-

H 2

standing

A. D. 1483. standing Princes in their Life-time support and countenance such base and scandalous Ministers, and how ready soever such may be to execute their Masters unlawful and arbitrary Commands; yet at last they find that Credit at Court is no Inheritance; and that God, who leaves no Villany unpunish'd, finds a Time to reward them according to their Deserts. Besides, immediately after the Death of *Lewis XI.* a strict Enquiry was made into all the exorbitant and superstitious Grants that were made by him in his Life, all which were resum'd; and whatever Lands had been alienated from the Crown, were united to it again.

A Resumption of the exorbitant Grants of K. Lewis XI.

CHAP. II.

Of the Assembly of the States held at Tournay; of the Duke of Orleans's pretending to the Regency of France; of the Civil War rais'd by him, and of his retiring into Bretagne.

A. D. 1484.

A free Assembly of the Three Estates of the Kingdom at Tournay.

THE King, in the July after his Coronation, which was in the Year 1484. held a general and free Assembly of the States of the Kingdom, at *Tournay*, after a far different manner from what had been done in the Reign of his Father, who summon'd none but such as were of his own chusing, and in the Court-Interest, neither durst any of the Members speak their Minds freely; but in all Matters of Debate the whole Assembly were forced to act entirely according

to the King's Will and Pleasure, which generally was violent and arbitrary: But at this Convention there was a glorious Appearance of the Nobility, Commons and Clergy; their Votes were free and unbiass'd; and every Member had the Liberty to remonstrate, and complain freely of whatever Injury or Injustice (contrary to the Laws of the Realm, and the Customs of their Ancestors) they had received in the late King's Reign. In this Convention it was unanimously agreed upon, that there should be no Regent chosen in *France*, but that *Anne Dutchesof Beaujeu*, the King's eldest Sister, should be entrusted with the Government of his Royal Person, according to the last Will and Testament of his Father *Lewis XI.* and that the Privy Council should consist of twelve Persons chosen out of the Body of the Nobility, by whose Advice the whole Affairs of the Kingdom should be transacted and dispatch'd, but all in the King's Name, and under his Hand and Seal. After this, *John Duke of Bourbon* was created *Constable of France*, and by degrees the Affairs of the whole Kingdom were entirely manag'd by the Dutches of *Beaujeu*, upon the account of her having the Government of her Brother in her own Hands.

A. D.
1484.



However, *Lewis Duke of Orleans*, being the next Prince of the Blood *Royal of France*, by the Persuasion of some that were about him, who expected great Preferment, if the Administration of Affairs was in his Hands; and especially at the Instigation of the Count *de Dunois*, Son of *John* commonly call'd the Bastard of *Orleans* (a Person of an enterprising Genius and a subtle Wit) remain'd still at *Paris*, and came daily into Council, notwithstanding the Resolution of the Three States; and with that Boldness, as

The Duke of Orleans, by the Instigation of the Count de Dunois, pretends to the Regency, and occasions great Disturbance in the Kingdom.

A. D.

1484.

plainly shew'd him to be a Person from whom 'twas impossible to hide any of their Designs and Intrigues. This Assurance of the Duke of Orleans did not a little displease the Dutches of *Beaujeu*; upon which the Prince of *Orange*, the Marshal *de Rieux*, and the rest of the Barons of *Bretagne*, that were Exiles at that time in *France*, understanding how Affairs went, came to the Dutches of *Beaujeu*, and offer'd their Service to her and the King; at which the Duke of Orleans was highly incens'd. Besides, the Duke us'd his utmost Endeavours to vilify and disparage her Female Administration; but it did not much prevail upon the People, because the Duke himself was not yet four and twenty Years old, and still under his Mother's Guardianship; and it seem'd unreasonable to place him at the Helm of Affairs, who was not capable to manage his own private Concerns; so that the same Reason hinder'd him from the Government at this time, that excluded his Grandfather heretofore, during the Lunacy of *Charles VI.* But this Reason did not satisfy the Duke nor his Friends; upon which the Dutches of *Beaujeu* finding that the Duke of Orleans continu'd still at *Paris*, and daily brought over by his cunning Insinuations, those that were in Authority, to his own Party; (endeavouring by that means to obtain the Regency of the Kingdom) sent certain Persons, by the Advice of the Privy Council, to *Paris*, to arrest his Person. The Duke being inform'd of their Designs as he was playing at Tennis, immediately withdrew; and (pretending to go to his Palace) leaves *Paris* attended only by one *Guyot pot*, and *John de Louen* one of the Gentlemen of his Bed-chamber, and lay that Night at *Pontoise*. The next Morning he went to *Ver-*
nueil,

meil, and from thence to *Alençon*, where he A. D. 1484.
 staid some time; during which he endeavour'd to draw the Count *d'Angoulême*, the Duke
 of *Bourbon*, and the Lord *d'Albret*, over to his
 Party; and at last they all declar'd themselves
 for him, and unanimously resolv'd to stand by
 him, and support him in this Undertaking, with
 their Lives and Fortunes. All these great Lords, *The Duke*
 (who had considerable Places in the Government) of Orle-
 were immediately remov'd, upon their declaring *ans, by the*
 for the Duke of *Orleans*; however they rais'd a *Assistance*
 considerable Army out of the Vassals of their *of some*
 own Territories, and contriv'd the Matter so *discon-*
 nicely, as to gain the Duke of *Lorraine*, the Prince *Lords,*
 of *Orange*, and the Count *de Foix*, over to their *raises an*
 side. The Duke of *Orleans*, being assisted by *Army.*
 these Princes and Lords, assembled his Army at
Blois, with a design to march directly to *Orleans*;
 but the Citizens of that Place finding their Duke *The Citi-*
 was coming thither, with a design to surprize it, *zens of*
 and make it the Seat of the War, shut their Gates *Orleans*
 upon him, and would not suffer him to enter it. *shut their*
 Upon this Refusal, he march'd with an Army *Gates a-*
 of about 400 Men at Arms, and a good Body of *gainst him.*
 Foot, to *Bougencey*, being attended by the Counts
de Dunois and *Foix*, and other French Officers,
 where they halted for some time, and whither
 the King sent a considerable Body of Forces to
 besiege them; but finding the Place not to be
 of any great Strength in it self, and not in a
 good Posture of Defence at that time, and per- *The Duke*
 ceiving that the Male contents of the Kingdom *of Orleans*
 did not come into 'em as they expected they *makes his*
 would have done, they immediately clapp'd up a *Peace with*
 Peace with the King; by the Articles of which *the King.*
 it was agreed, that the Duke of *Orleans* should
 make his Submission to the King; and that the

A. D. 1484. Count *de Dunois*, who was the Contriver and Fomenter of this Rebellion, should depart the Kingdom; which he did, and retir'd to *Asti*. But notwithstanding this Peace, the Duke of *Bourbon* and the Count *d'Angoulesme*, who had rais'd their Armies on purpose to assist the Duke of *Orleans*, march'd toward *Bourges*; whither the King follow'd with a numerous Army, accompanied by the Duke of *Orleans*, who was forced to take Arms against his Friends and Allies. The two Armies were now in sight of each other, and nothing less than a Battle was expected; however, by the Wisdom and Management of the Marshal *de Giè*, and the Lord *de Graville*, (two Persons of great Authority in the French Court during the Dutchess of *Beaujeu's* Administration) a Peace was concluded between the King and his Nobility, in which the Lord *d'Albret* was comprehended; and after this manner all these Armies separated without any Bloodshed; and the King retir'd to *Amboise*, the Duke of *Orleans* to *Orleans*, and the Count *de Foix* with the Cardinal his Brother, to the Duke of *Bretagne* at *Nantes*, who had married their Sister. This Rebellion was call'd the *Mad War*, and happen'd in the Year 1485.

A. D. 1485. Immediately after the Conclusion of the Peace the Count *de Dunois* return'd from *Asti*, and retir'd to his own Town of *Partenay* in *Poitou*, which was at that time strongly fortified with a double Ditch and a triple Wall. The King having Intelligence of this, and of his adding new Fortifications to the Town, and knowing him to be a cunning enterprising Person, sent to the Duke of *Orleans* (who was then at *Orleans* diverting himself with Jufts and Tournaments) to come to him at *Amboise*. After three or four Messen-

Messengers, the last of which was the Marshal *A.D.*
de Giè, the Duke of *Orleans* went to *Blois*, and 1485.
the next day, being Twelfth-Eve, in the Year
1485. he left *Blois* early in the Morning with
his Hawks, pretending he went to fly 'em in
the Fields, and without stopping by the way,
rode that day to *Fronteraux*, of which his Sister
was then Abbess; from thence he went to *Clif-*
son, and from *Cliffon* to *Nantes*, where he was
honourably receiv'd by the Duke of *Bretagne*:
This was the second time of the Duke of *Orleans*'s
coming into *Bretagne*, as by the sequel of this
short History will more plainly appear. The
King having Intelligence of his leaving *Blois* in
this clandestine manner, resolv'd to besiege the
Count *de Dunois* in his Town of *Partenay*, and
found a way (before the Secret was discover'd)
to draw over to his Party, the Marshal *de Ricux*,
and the other Barons of *Bretagne*, who were re-
tir'd to *Chateaubrian* to the Lady *de Laval*, who
was Mistress of it: For the Duke of *Bretagne*, by
the Assistance of the Duke of *Orleans* and the
Count *de Dunois*, endeavour'd to be reveng'd of
the said Barons, for the Death of *Peter Landois*,
Treasurer of *Bretagne*, of which we shall say
something in the following Chapter.

A. D.

1485.

C H A P. III.

Of the Civil Wars in Bretagne between the Duke and his Nobility ; and of the Death of Peter Landois, Treasurer of Bretagne.



Some Disturbance in Bretagne, and the Occasion of it.

ABOUT the same time, or a little before, that the *Mad War* happen'd in *France*, a Disturbance of the same nature broke out in *Bretagne*, tho' not with the same Success. The Seeds of this Rebellion were sown in the late King's Reign, but did not spring up for fear of a foreign War, (with which *Lewis XI.* always threaten'd the *Bretons*) till after his Death. But all Apprehensions of a foreign Invasion being then vanish'd ; the Fire, which upon this Occasion was first kindled, began to break out. Monsieur *Chauvin*, Chancellor of *Bretagne* (a very worthy Person) died miserably in the Castle of *L'Hermite*, where the Duke had imprison'd him, at the Request and Instigation of his Treasurer, Monsieur *Peter Landois*, a Hosier's Son of *Touars*, who after the Treasurer's Death entirely govern'd and manag'd the Duke at his pleasure. This so highly affronted the Nobility ; that some of 'em, to wit, the Prince of *Orange*, the Marshal de *Rieux*, and several others (who were then at *Nantes*, and hated this *Landois*, as being the Occasion of the Chancellor's Death) enter'd into a Conspiracy against him, and for the better executing their Design, they watch'd an Opportunity to surprize him, either in the Castle with the

the Duke, or in his own House call'd *Pabotiere*, A. D. about a Mile from *Nantes*; in order to which, 1485. they divided themselves into two Bodies, with one of which they besieged his House, and with the other enter'd the Castle; and that they might be sure to prevent his Escape, they shut up the Gates, search'd every Corner of the Castle, not so much as sparing even the Duke's Chamber, into which they violently rush'd, as believing that Monsieur *Landois* might be retir'd thither by way of Safety and Protection. But he, being a Mile from *Nantes* in the above-mention'd House, had time enough to make his Escape at a Back-gate, before it was surrounded; and so sav'd himself that time. Immediately there was a great Uproar in the Town, for one of the Duke of *Bretagne's* Servants, who was let down the Castle Wall by a Rope, upon the Nobility's entring the Castle, made a great Noise and Disturbance, aggravating the Heinousness of the Attempt, and affirming that the Castle was storm'd, the Duke assaulted, and his Person in imminent Danger, unless he was speedily succour'd. The poor deluded Citizens (being ignorant that this Attempt was made only for the surprizing of Monsieur *Peter Landois*) immediately arm'd themselves, and with great Fury ran to the Castle; threatening to put all the Nobility to the Sword, of whom not one durst appear upon the Walls, to speak to the enraged Multitude, who had planted Cannon against the Castle; and resolv'd to seize upon whomever appear'd, except the Duke himself. At last the Duke, attended by his Nobility, shew'd himself to the People; who presently fell on their Knees before him, expressing abundance of Joy and Satisfaction at his being safe,

A. D. safe and out of danger ; and thus was the Insurrection ended in a moment, and every one departed quietly to his House.

The Nobility of Bretagne banish'd for their Insolence to their Duke.

Tho' the Duke was so gracious as to pardon the Nobility, yet they were immediately banish'd *Bretagne*, upon which they retir'd into *France* to *Charles VIII.* as you have already heard. After the Pacification of these Troubles, Monsieur *Peter Landois* recover'd his former Credit and Interest with the Duke ; and prevail'd with him to write to his Cousin-german the Duke of *Orleans*, to desire the Favour of him to come into *Bretagne*, which he did by the Persuasion of the Count *de Dunois*, who endeavour'd to divorce him from the King's Sister, and marry him to *Anne*, the Duke of *Bretagne*'s eldest Daughter and Heir ; which also happen'd after the Duke of *Orleans* came to the Crown, though it was not accomplish'd at that time. The Duke of *Orleans*, accompanied by the Duke of *Alençon*, arriv'd at *Nantes*, after the abovemention'd Insurrection, in April 1484. where they were honourably receiv'd by the Duke of *Bretagne*, who made heavy Complaints to 'em of the Insolence offer'd him by the Prince of *Orange* and the Marshal *de Rieux* ; and desir'd their Assistance to revenge himself on those two Lords, which they promis'd him in general Terms, and then took their Leave of him, to go to *Rheims* to King *Charles*'s Coronation. After this some Difference happen'd between the King and the Duke of *Orleans* ; but at last Matters were amicably adjusted in the Year 1485, as you have already heard.

Monsieur *Peter Landois*, seeing the Duke his Master in an Alliance with the Duke of *Orleans*, and the Duke of *Orleans* and his Faction at Peace with

with the King, was resolv'd to be reveng'd of A. D.
his Enemies; and prevail'd upon the Duke of 1485.
Bretagne to publish a Proclamation, command-
ing all the Houses of the Nobility that were in
the abovemention'd Conspiracy, to be raz'd;
and to put it in execution, an Army was rais'd
in the Duke's Name, to raze *Ancenix*, where
the Prince of *Orange* and the Count de *Comminges*
were retir'd; who having Intelligence of it, by
the Assistance of their Friends, and the banish'd
Lords, rais'd also another Army to oppose the
Designs of Monsieur *Peter Landois*; but when
these two Armies came to face each other, the
Remembrance and Love of their native Country
alter'd their Resolutions so, that they threw
down their Arms, and embraced each other like
Friends. After this mutual and friendly Agree-
ment, the Prince of *Orange* and the Count de
Comminges were restor'd to the Duke's Favour,
and to the Administration of Affairs under him;
so that the whole Storm fell upon Monsieur
Landois alone, whom (knowing him to be in
the Castle) they immediately resolv'd to seize
upon, even tho' he were in the Duke's Arms.
Upon this Resolution, one (whom the Nobility
and Commons had by Consent chosen to be
their new Chancellor) went by Compulsion, and
acquainted the Duke, that nothing but his deli-
vering up Monsieur *Peter Landois* would appease
the Tumult; and that they would proceed against
him only in Form of Law, without doing any
thing to him, till his Cause was fairly heard
and examin'd into. After this manner, and up-
on these fair Promises he was surrender'd to 'em,
immediately imprison'd, and for Form's sake
examined. Several heinous Crimes were ob-
jected against him, and in the end he was con-
demn'd

A. D. 1485. demn'd and executed, before ever his Trial was known to the Duke, who design'd to have granted him his Pardon, however the Proceedings of the Court went; and to prevent that, his Execution was hasten'd. This Action (which the Duke esteem'd as an high Affront offer'd to himself in particular) render'd the Nobility more odious to him than they were before. The Duke created a new Chancellor, and to oppose his Nobility, very kindly receiv'd the Duke of Orleans, who about the same time retir'd out of France, to his Court, with several of his Faction; upon which the Nobility being greatly alarm'd, fled a second time into France, where the King (designing to make War upon the Duke of Bretagne for entertaining the Duke of Orleans) willingly received them into his Service, and enter'd into an Alliance with 'em, as in the End of the last Chapter you have already heard. There was a Report that the Duke of Orleans had a Design to get himself divorced from the Lady Jane, the King's Sister, who was forced upon him against his Inclinations, by Lewis XI. and to marry Anne, the Duke of Bretagne's eldest Daughter and Heir; the Hopes of which Match was the Occasion of his Journey into Bretagne: But the Lord d'Albret had entertain'd also great Hopes of that Match, which drew him into the Duke of Bretagne's Service; nay he had even Assurances of the Marriage, under the Hands of all the Nobility that were with the Duke of Bretagne, except the Duke of Orleans.

He is condemn'd and executed without the Duke of Bretagne's Knowledge.

C H A P. IV.

A. D.

1486.

*Of the King's making War in Bretagne,
and the Count de Dunois's Embassy to the
King for Peace.*

THE only thing that the banish'd Nobility of *Bretagne* desir'd, was, to be recall'd, and to remain in Peace and Quiet in their own Country. The King's Desire on the other hand, was, to be reveng'd of the Duke of *Bretagne* for entertaining and protecting the Duke of *Orleans* in his Rebellion against him. To carry on his intended Design against *Bretagne*, the King enter'd into an Alliance with these Noblemen, and to assist them, rais'd an Army and commenc'd a War against the Duke of *Bretagne* in the Year 1486. This Army invaded *Bretagne* in three several Parts: The Lord *de St. André*, with a Body of four hundred Lances, and five or six thousand Foot, penetrated into *Bretagne* on one side; the Count *de Montpensier*, with a considerable Detachment, on another; and *Lewis de la Trimouille*, Viscount of *Tovars* (who had married the Count *de Montpensier's* Sister) in a third. So that the Province of *Bretagne* had three French Armies in it at once, with whom also the above-mention'd Barons join'd, and by their Interest occasion'd several Castles in *Bretagne* to be surrender'd to the King's Forces, at which the Duke was extremely surpriz'd; but the Duke of *Orleans*, the Counts *de Dunois* and *Comminges*, who were with him, us'd all their Arguments to encourage and keep up his

A. D. 1486. his Spirits, and under pretence of a Marriage to be concluded between the Lady *Anne* his eldest Daughter, and the Lord *d'Albret*, who had the Command of a hundred Lances, and was capable of raising a considerable Body of Foot in *Gascony* and *Guienne* (where he had large Possessions) they persuaded the Lord *d'Albret* to join with 'em, who presently left the King's Service, and came into the Duke's. However, the Duke of *Bretagne* leaving *Nantes* in the possession of his Cousin the Prince of *Orange*, retir'd to *Malestroit*, a Castle of great Strength, where he assembled an Army of six hundred Lances and sixteen thousand Foot, in order to relieve *Ploermel* (about three or four Leagues from *Malestroit*) which the King had besieged. While the Duke's Army was marching towards *Ploermel*, one of the Officers began to talk after a mutinous manner, saying, *he knew no Reason for this War; neither could he tell the Design of it; affirming that their Duke was govern'd and manag'd by the French, and they made the Bretons, at their pleasure, revenge French Quarrels upon the French; and therefore he persuaded them to return home to their Wives and Children, and not venture in other Peoples Quarrels, to lose their Lives so ridiculously.* This Speech so intimidated and discourag'd the whole Army, that they separated immediately, and returned every Man to his own Home; by this means, for want of being reinforced, the Garrison of *Ploermel* was forc'd to surrender upon Terms: Yet, notwithstanding the Articles of Capitulation to the contrary, the Town was plunder'd, the most substantial Inhabitants made Prisoners, and a considerable Ransom demanded for 'em. The Dukes of *Bretagne* and *Orleans*, and the rest of the Lords that were with them

at *Malestroit*, being inform'd of the Separation A. D. and Return of their Army, as also of the Sur- 1487. render of *Ploermel*, went to *Vennes*, on *Whitsun-Eve*, in the Year 1487. whither the King's Army pursued them so closely, that they had scarce time to get a Ship board, and sail to *Croisick*, and from thence up the River *Loire* to *Nantes*, being forced to leave part of their Baggage behind them at *Vennes*, which surrender'd immediately after they had left it, without any manner of Resistance. Sometime after the Taking of this Town, the *French* in a small Skirmish, at a Place call'd *Jove*, between *Chateaubrian* and *Nantes*, defeated a great Body of *Bretons*, under the Command of *Amaulry de la Mossay*, near *Nantes*; the King himself was at *Ancenix* at that time. After the taking of *Vennes*, the King's Army march'd to *Nantes*, which he invested on the 19th of *July*, in 1487. within the Town there was the Duke of *Bretagne* and his two Daughters, *Anne* and *Isabella*, the Duke of *Orleans*, the Prince of *Orange*, the Ladies *de Laval* and *Chateaubrian*, the Bishop of *Nantes*, the Count *de Comminges*, and several other Lords; all which left the Castle, and took up their Lodgings in the Town. The People of the Town having some Jealousy of the Bishop, and the Lady *de Laval*, whom they suspected to be in the *French* Interest, they were put into the Custody of some of the chief Citizens. The King besieged this Town with an Army of ten thousand Men, and a large Train of Artillery, with which they sorely batter'd the Walls and Towers both of the Town and Castle; but the Besieged fir'd as briskly upon the King's Troops, and made several bold Sallies, in which both sides behav'd themselves with a great deal of Valour and Intrepidity.

A. D.

1487.

You must now understand, that the Count *de Dunois*, who was in *Lower Bretagne*, in order to embark for *England*, where he design'd to solicit for some Supplies, being hinder'd by contrary Winds, brought with him fifty thousand of the Commons of *Bretagne*, to relieve the Town of *Nantes*; and the *French* supposing they were unfit for Service, let 'em pass quietly, without attacking them. The King at last, finding the Heat of the Weather encrease, and that he could not carry the Town by Force, rais'd the Siege on the sixth of *August*, and march'd with his Army and besieg'd *Dole*, which he took without any Resistance, plunder'd, and made all the Garrison, and the Inhabitants, Prisoners of War. Besides, the King's Army spoil'd and ravaged all the Country round about, kill'd the People, and drove away their Cattle: But the Marshal *de Rieux*, and the greatest part of the banish'd Lords of *Bretagne*, that were in the King's Army, being concern'd at, and lamenting the miserable Condition of their native Country, began to grow weary of the War; and alledged, that their Alliance with the King was not with a Design to destroy, but to recover their Country, and that the *French* that were fled into *Bretagne* might return into theirs: wherefore, since the *French* Lords residing in *Bretagne* had protested solemnly that they were willing to return into *France*, provided the King would pardon their going over to the Duke; and that the Duke on the other hand, had, with the unanimous Consent of all his Subjects, offer'd the banish'd Lords of *Bretagne* not only their Pardon, but also the Restitution of all their Goods and Lands; they saw no Reason for the Continuance of the War any longer, and therefore were for having each Party

Party return home in Peace. These Allegations, tho' there was a great deal of Truth in them, did but little move and affect the *French*, and several of the *Bretons* themselves, who were still for carrying on the War. Upon this, the Marshal de Rieux, who was Lord of *Ancenix*, a Town very commodious for the King to erect Magazines in, for the Subsistence of his Troops, and which (notwithstanding he held it for the King) he garrison'd with his own Tenants and Servants, surrender'd the Place to the Duke of *Bretagne*, and made the Townsmen swear Allegiance to him. And besides, before the News of this Revolt was spread abroad, he march'd with a good Body of Troops to *Chateaubrian*, which was also held for the King, and being received into the Town after a friendly Manner, he put a Garrison of his own Soldiers in it, and forced all those to leave the Town that would not return to the Obedience of the Duke. From thence he marched and besieged *Vennes*, on the twenty-fifth of *January*, which was held by the *French*, under the Government of *Gilbert de Grassay*, and *Philip de Moulins*, two experienc'd Commanders, who surrender'd the Place upon Terms, on the third Day of *March* following.

On the other hand, the King's Army was not idle ; for they took *Ancenix* by storm, and by the King's express Command raz'd the Walls, Towers, and Houses, so that one Stone was not left upon another ; and this the King did to spite the Marshal de Rieux, to whom the Town belong'd, and who had lately revolted from him as you have already heard. *Chateaubrian* was also recover'd by the King's Forces, and the Castle raz'd. From thence the King's Army marched to *Fougeres*, a Frontier Town, and of

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Several
Places taken by the
King's
Troops.

A. D. 1488. considerable Strength, which they also besieg'd; upon which the Duke of *Bretagne*, fearing he should lose all his Country, resolv'd to send the Count *de Dunois* in an Embassy to the King, of which you shall hear more in its proper Place.

The Lord
d'Albret's
Return
from
Spain.

His Pre-
tensions to
the Lady
Anne of
Bretagne.

About this time, which was in the Beginning of the Year 1488. the Lord *d'Albret*, who had been long resident at the Court of *Spain*, came by Sea, and landed in Lower *Bretagne*, with four thousand Man; his Forces marched immediately to *Rennes*, but he himself came directly to *Nantes*, to wait on the Duke of *Bretagne*. Upon his first Arrival, he demanded the Accomplishment of the Marriage between him and the Lady *Anne*, the Duke's eldest Daughter; but the Lady would not consent to it, to the great Displeasure of her Father, who was ignorant of her having plac'd her Affections on the Duke of *Orleans*, by the Management and Persuasion of the Count *de Dunois*; for which Reason, and to save his Honour, he endeavour'd to withdraw the Instrument he had given for the Accomplishment of the said Marriage, and which was in the Hands of the Lady *de Laval*, Sister to the Lord *d'Albret*, among the rest of the Writings of the other Lords of *Bretagne*. And he manag'd the Affair so cunningly, that at last he got it; for he gave the Lady *de Laval* to understand that this Match could never be accomplish'd without obtaining an Instrument under the Duke of *Bretagne's* Hands; and that he had prevail'd with him to give one, provided it was written Word for Word by that which the Count *de Dunois* had already sealed; therefore if she would be pleas'd to order his Writing to be delivered to him, he would make his Secretary take an exact Copy of it, which should be presented to the Duke,

Duke, in order to have him sign it. The Lady A. D. *de Laval* supposing his Intentions to be just and honourable, deliver'd him his own Writing, which he never restor'd ; for immediately after this he was sent with certain Lawyers in an Embassy to the King, who was then at *Angiers*, to know what his Majesty demanded in *Bretagne*, and the Reason of his destroying so many Towns and Castles in that Province. 1488.

The Duke of *Bretagne* (as we have already observed) being in a great Consternation to see *Fougeres* invested by the King's Army, sent the Count *de Dunois*, by the unanimous Consent of his Nobility, in an Embassy to the King. The Count *de Dunois* all along in his Journey to the French Court, so magnified and extoll'd the Blessings and Advantages of Peace, that the Eyes of the whole Kingdom were fix'd upon him, as the only Person by whose Mediation they were to obtain it. Upon his being admitted to an Audience of the King, who was then about Eighteen Years old, he, after a very eloquent Manner, remonstrated the present Circumstances of the Duke of *Bretagne*, and the other French Lords that had retir'd to his Court ; alledging, ' That the Duke being grown old, worn out with Diseases, having buried his Wife, being destitute of Issue-male, having only two Daughters, one twelve Years old, and the other less ; and lastly, being forsaken by his Nobility, upon account of their Hatred to Monsieur *Peter Landois*, and not through any Male-Administration on his Part, began to languish in Grief and Sorrow, and therefore the Nobility of *France*, that were nearly allied to him, out of a natural and sincere Affection, were retir'd to his Court, purely to comfort him

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him in his Affliction ; among whom none were so near to him as the Duke of *Orleans*, and the Prince of *Orange*, (except his own Children) one being his Uncle's Son, and the other his Sister's ; and that these and others of his near Relations, that were still at his Court, staid there upon no other Design : Adding, that the Duke was not to be accus'd of secret Practices against his Majesty, in not forbidding them his Dominions, since they came purely to comfort him in his Distress. But perhaps (continued he) it will be objected, that there are several others of the Nobility of *France* with him, who have made War against the King : But what War ? Why, as the *Bretons* were marching with an Army to raise the Siege of *Ploermel*, being informed that it was impossible to do it, without venturing a Battle with the *French*, out of Respect to his Majesty they declin'd fighting, marched home, and suffer'd their Towns to be taken and plunder'd, rather than engage the King's Troops. Besides, as soon as the Duke knew the King's Royal Pleasure in relation to the Return of the banish'd Nobles of *Bretagne*, he immediately restored them to his Favour, and the Possession of their Estates. What Offence (added he) has the Duke committed ? What is the Cause of the War against him ? Certainly none : But on the other Hand, many Reasons why the King should commiserate the present Circumstances of the Duke of *Bretagne*, and consent to give him Peace. This was the Substance of the Speech which (as he said) he was commanded to deliver to the King ; but he would not have undertaken so weighty a Charge, had he not been entirely convinc'd of the Duke's singular

‘ Affe-

Affection to his Majesty; and that the *French* A. D.
 Lords that were in *Bretagne* were honest and 1488.
 faithful Subjects to their King, and were ready
 to sacrifice their Lives and Fortunes in the de-
 fence of him and his Kingdom. This Speech
 of the Count *de Dunois* inclin'd the King to har-
 ken to Overtures of Peace, which was already
 set on Foot, and which was broken off by the
 sudden News of a Battle, of which you shall be
 inform'd in the following Chapter.

*The Treaty
 of Peace
 broken off
 upon the
 News of a
 Battle.*

C H A P. V.

*Of the Battle of St. Aubin, in which the
 Duke of Orleans was taken Prisoner;
 Of the Treaty of Peace between the King
 and the Duke of Bretagne; and of the
 Death of that Prince.*



YOU have already been inform'd
 of the Siege of *Fougeres*, which
 still continued, and notwith-
 standing the Count *de Dunois*'s
 Embassy to the King was carri-
 ed on with so much Vigour and
 Success, that the Town was reduc'd to great Ex-
 tremity; upon which, the Duke of *Orleans*, and
 the rest of the Nobility of *Bretagne*, being fearful
 of Losing the Town, immediately leave *Nantes*,
 and went to *Rennes*, where they assembled their
 Forces, in order to raise the Siege of *Fougeres*.
 Their Army consisted of four hundred Men at
 Arms, and twelve thousand Foot of their own
 Country, as some write; but others say, but
 eight thousand, besides three hundred *English*

A. D. and eight hundred *Swiss*, and a large Train of 1488. Artillery. This Army, which was commanded in chief by the Duke of *Orleans*, and under him by the Lord *d'Albret*, the Marshal de *Rieux*, the Lords de *Chateaubrian*, *Leon*, *Crenettes*, *Pont l'Abbe*, *Plessis*, *Balines*, *Montigny Montuet*, and the Lord *Rivers* an English Peer, encamp'd as soon as they were assembled, near a Village call'd *Andouille*, on Wednesday the 23^d of July, in 1488. In the Night there was some Disturbance in the Camp among the *Gascons*, which was like to have occasion'd a Quarrel between the Duke of *Orleans* and the Lord *d'Albret*, but the Matter was soon adjusted. In the mean time, these great Lords, which lay encamp'd at *Andouille*, received an Express with the News of the taking of *Fougeres*, by the *French*, upon Terms of Agreement; by which the Garrison was permitted to march out with their Bag and Baggage. No sooner had these Lords receiv'd the News of the Surrender of *Fougeres*, but they call'd a Council of War, in which it was unanimously resolved to decamp, and march directly to *St. Aubin*; being of Opinion they might easily take the Town in which there was but a small Garrison of the *French*, especially since they might be join'd by the Garrison that march'd out of *Fougeres*, which would be a considerable Reinforcement to their Army. On the other hand, it unluckily happen'd, that the *French* Army bent their March also towards *St. Aubin*, with a design to cover the Place, and prevent the *Bretons* from besieging it. However, neither of the Armies enter'd the Town, because, before they arriv'd at it, both met and fought. For you must understand, that the same day that the *Bretons* receiv'd the News of the Surrender of *Fougeres* they broke

Fougeres
taken by
Composi-
tion.

broke up from *Andouille*, and march'd to *Orange*, A. D. 1488. a Village about two Leagues from *St. Aubin*, where they receiv'd Intelligence, that the King's Army was marching directly, with a full Resolution to fight 'em.

The next Day, early in the Morning, the *Bretons* consulted how to draw up their Army in Order of Battle ; and because the Infantry were jealous of the *French* Horse, and especially of the Duke of *Orleans* himself, it was judg'd proper that he and the Prince of *Orange* should quit their Horses, and fight on Foot, among the *Swiss*; and so they did. The Van-guard was commanded by the Marshal de *Rieux*, the Main-battle by the Lord d'*Albret*, and the Lord de *Chateaubrian* brought up the Rear. Upon the right Wing was plac'd their Artillery ; and to dismay and terrify the *French* the more, by making them believe they had a greater Number of *English* than really there were, (for there were but three hundred, under the Command of the Lord *Talbot*) seventeen hundred *Bretons* dress'd and arm'd after the *English* Manner, were ordered to join 'em. On Monday Morning, they drew up in the above-mention'd Order of Battle near a great Wood, in expectation of the *French*. The King's Army (which was commanded by the Lord de la *Trimouille* Viscount of *Tovars*) marched from *Fougeres* with a full Resolution to give the *Bretons* Battle. The Van was led by *Adrian de l'Hospital* and *Gabriel de Montfalzois*; before which a small Party of *French* Officers advanc'd to get Intelligence of the *Bretons*, and as soon as they had discover'd in what Order they were drawn up, and how posted, they return'd to their Army, which boldly march'd on to attack the *Bretons*. After some Canona-

ding,

A. D. ding, which kill'd abundance of Men on both
 1488. sides, the *French* attack'd the *Bretons* Van-guard
 with incredible Fury and Intrepidity, and they
 were as warmly receiv'd by the Marshal *de Rieux*
 who commanded it; so that being repuls'd there,
 they wheel'd off, and march'd directly to the
 Main-Battle, which being vigorously charg'd
 Sword in Hand, the Cavalry of *Bretagne* began to
 give Ground, which dispirited those in the Rear,
 that without fighting a Stroke they immediately
 fled. The *French* pursued them, and made sad
 Hayock among the Infantry: The Van-guard
 seeing this Disorder and Confusion, and that
 there were no Troops left to support them, fairly
 turn'd their Backs and fled too. In short, the
French obtain'd a compleat Victory, and kill'd all
 those that wore the red Cross, supposing they had
 been *English*, besides twelve or thirteen hundred
Bretons more, Horse and Foot. The Duke of
Orleans was taken Prisoner by some of the Foot,
 as was also the Prince of *Orange*, who had pull'd
 of his black Cross, and laid himself flat upon the
 Ground among the dead, as if he was kill'd;
 he was known by a *French* Archer, and both he
 and the Duke of *Orleans* were brought Prisoners
 to *St. Aubin*, under a strong Guard. The Lord
d'Albret seeing the Battle was lost, mounted on
 Horse-back, and made his Escape; the Marshal
de Rieux also sav'd himself, and retreated to *Di-*
nan; but the Lords *de Leon*, *Pont l'Abbe*, *Mont-*
fort, and several other Lords of *Bretagne*, were
 slain, and about six thousand common Soldiers.
 Of the King's side about twelve hundred or
 a thousand common Soldiers, and but one Officer
 of Note, which was Monsieur *James Galeot*, a
 brave Soldier, and much lamented in the Army.
 This Battle was fought on Monday the 28th of
 July,

The
 French
 beat the
 Bretons.

The Battle
 of St. Au-
 bin du
 Cormier.

July, in 1488. soon after which, the Duke of Orleans was carried Prisoner to the Castle of Lu-
 zignan, and from thence he was remov'd to Poic-
 tiers, where he remain'd for some time, and
 lastly to the great Tower of Bourges.

The second Day after the Battle, the Lord de Rheims
 la Trimouille sent an Herald to Rheims, to sum-
 mon the Town to surrender to the King; who
 after some consultation, return'd this Answer,
 That the King had no Right to the Town; that he had
 unjustly, and without any Provocation, invaded Bre-
 tagne, and that notwithstanding his numerous Army,
 it would not be in his Power entirely to ruin and de-
 stroy their Country as he intended; for God who de-
 fended the Bretons in their Rights and Liberties, was
 able to shew his Power against him now, as he did a-
 gainst King John at Poictiers, and King Philip of
 Valois, at Crecy: Adding farther, That if the
 Lord de la Trimouille, thought fit to invest the
 Town, and lay formal Siege to it, he would find in it
 forty thousand Men, twenty thousand of which were
 able to bear Arms, and resolv'd to make a vigorous
 Defence. This Answer was brought to the Lord
 de la Trimouille, who consider'd a long time be-
 fore he made any Reply to it; and afterwards
 sent the same Herald to Angiers, where the King
 was, to acquaint his Majesty with it. Upon
 which the King conven'd his Council, to re-
 solve what Measures were to be taken in this
 nice Affair. The greatest part of them were for
 besieging the Town; but William de Rochfort
 Chancellor of France, was on the contrary Opi-
 nion, which was founded on the King's Title to
 the Dutchy of Bretagne, which was commonly
 reported to come by means of a certain Writing
 that the Lord John de Bros, Lord of Boussac,
 Husband to Dame Nicola of Bretagne, Daughter
 and

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A. D. and Heir to *Charles of Blois*, Earl of *Ponthieure*, 1488. had made to the King's Ancestors, together with several other Titles, which were not as yet prov'd in due form of Law : Adding farther, that if his Majesty had no lawful Title to it, it would be base and tyrannical in him to usurp another Prince's Dominions : Therefore the Chancel-

The King's Title to the Dut- chy of Bre- tagne exam- in'd into, lor's Advice was, That according to the Desire of the Ambassadors, certain grave and judicious Persons, learned in the Law, should be chosen to examine and enquire into the Right on both sides. This Opinion at last prevail'd, and accordingly the King agreed to the Demands of the Ambassadors of *Bretagne*, that both he and their Master should appoint some of their Council, who should meet in some indifferent place, to examine the Charters and Writings on both sides, and fairly and equitably determine to whom the Dutchy belong'd; and that in the mean time the King should keep all the Towns that his Majesty was possess'd of already in *Bre- tagne*. The Duke of *Bretagne* was extremely pleas'd with this Agreement; and because the Plague was hot in *Nantes*, he remov'd from thence, with his two Daughters, the Lady de *Laval*, the Lord d' *Albret*, the Count de *Dunois*, the Marshal de *Rieux*, the Count de *Comminges*, and several other Persons of Quality, to *Coizon* upon the *Loire*, about three Leagues above *Nantes*, where soon after, to wit, on *Wednesday*, the 7th of *September*, 1488. he died of an Illness occasion'd by a Fall, and left the Government of his Dutchy of *Bretagne*, and his two Daughters to the Marshal de *Rieux*, with whom also the Count de *Comminges* was join'd as an Assistant. His Body was carried to *Nantes*, and interr'd in the Church belonging to the *Carmelites* of that place.

The Death of the Duke of Bretagne.

CHAP.

C H A P. VI.

A. D.

1489.

Of the King's Marriage with the Lady Anne of Bretagne, by which that Dutchy was united to the Crown of France.

NOT long after the Duke of Bre-
tagne's Death, died also his younger Daughter, the Lady Isabella, by whose Decease the Lady Anne became his sole Heir. Her Marriage occasion'd great Contention among the Nobility of Bretagne; for some of them were for marrying her to the Lord d'Albret, a powerful Lord in Guienne, to whom (as it was falsly reported) she was contracted by her Father's Consent, the Day before he died; but this Faction was soon dispirited by the young Lady's positively refusing to consent to this Match. Others openly declar'd themselves for Maximilian, Son to the Emperor Frederick; alledging, that he would not only be a Protector of their Liberty, but also a strong Defence against any Designs or Attempts of France. The King of France was not ignorant of this Treaty, but knew that several Ambassadors had been sent between Maximilian and the Nobility of Bretagne; and so far was this Affair advanced, that Maximilian himself thought the Business was done, began to grasp the whole Dutchy of Bretagne in his Imagination, and believ'd no Enterprize too great for him to undertake, provided, if to the Low-Countries, (which he got by his first Marriage) he could join the Dutchy of Bretagne by a second. The King of France

A. D. 1489. *France* often assembled his Privy-Council, about Ways and Means how to break off this Match, and divert the terrible Storm that threaten'd the Kingdom; but 'twas *Maximilian's* own Remisness in the Affair that farther'd their Designs the most. At last, after some Consultation, it was resolv'd in Council, that the King should not stand to his Contract with *Maximilian's* Daughter; but should send her back to her Father, and with all Expedition endeavour to accomplish a Marriage between him and the Lady *Anne* of *Bretagne*; alledging that the Neighbourhood of so powerful a Prince as *Maximilian* was, could not but be of dangerous consequence to the Kingdom of *France*, being one from whom his Majesty could expect nothing but dissembled Friendship now, and certain War hereafter; considering that having already forgotten his Alliance and Affinity with the King, began one War after another against him, and by that Means shew'd himself to be an open Enemy to the King and Kingdom. Upon this Resolution Ambassadors were dispatch'd to the

A Treaty of Marriage between the King and the Lady Anne of Bretagne.

Court of *Bretagne*, to treat of a Marriage with the Lady *Anne*. At first she was extremely surpriz'd at this Proposal, and told the Ambassadors, That she had already given her Faith and Honour to *Maximilian*, which she could not break; and besides, she was solemnly married to him (according to the usual Manner of Princes) by his Proxy, *Wolfgangus Poleme* of *Austria*, sent by him into *Bretagne* for that Purpose. However, the Lady *de Laval*, and other Ladies of Quality, who were her chief Favourites, being corrupted by *French* Gold, and large Promises, perswaded her that this *French* Match would be most for her Safety and Advantage, cunningly insinuating, that if she married *Maximilian*, he would

would scarce be able to defend *Bretagne*, considering he had always disappointed them of the Succours he had promis'd to send them: As for her Scruple of Conscience, they told her that the Pope, who had Power over Ecclesiastical Laws, would easily be prevail'd with to dispense with her Vow to *Maximilian*, since this Match would be so much for her Advantage, and the Preservation of her Territories. The young Princess, tho' she was a Person of great Wit and Virtue, yet being overcome by these artful and insinuating Persuasions, consented to the Request of the King's Ambassadors, and deliver'd up both her self and her Dominions into his Majesty's Hands; and soon after the Marriage was solemniz'd, to the great Joy and Satisfaction of the French Court. Thus *Bretagne* came under the French Power, to the unspeakable Grief of all its Subjects, who desir'd still to be govern'd by a particular Duke of their own, as they had ever been in times past.

Soon after this Marriage, the Count *de Dunois*, The Death of the Count de Dunois. who had been the chief Promoter of the Peace, and a great Instrument in this Match, (by which he entirely re-gain'd the King's Favour) died suddenly on Horse-back, and according to common Report, for want of something to eat. As soon as the King had settled Affairs in *Bretagne*, he return'd into *France*, and ordered the Lady *Margaret of Flanders* to be still kept, attended by the Princess of *Tarento*, in the Castle of *Melun*, upon the *Seine*.

Maximilian was inform'd of the secret Designs and Practices of the French, and seem'd not to value 'em; but when he found the Marriage was solemniz'd, he began to double his Hatred against the King; openly exclaim'd against him,

A. D. him, swore he would destroy *France* with
1489. Fire and Sword, and immediately invaded *Pi-*
cardy with a numerous Army. The Lord *des*
Maximi- *Cordes*, who was Governor of that Province,
lian vows oppos'd him, and valiantly defended the Coun-
to be re- try, to his own Honour, and the Advantage of
veng'd on *France*: However, *Maximilian* being resolv'd
Charles VIII. to be thoroughly reveng'd of *France*, stirr'd up
the *English*, (the ancient Enemies of that King-
dom) to invade it on that side, and promis'd
them great Supplies both of Men and Mo-
ney. Upon this Account, we are oblig'd to
say something of the Affairs of *England*, be-
cause the *English* are our next Neighbours,
and both in Peace and War, have always
Concerns with us, and we with them.

C H A P. VII.

A. D.

1489.

Of the Troubles in England; of the King of England's besieging Bologne; of the Peace between the King and him; and of the surprizing Arras and St. Omers by the King of the Romans.

KING Edward IV. the same that *Troubles* had an Interview with *Lewis XI.* in Eng-
at *Picquigny* (where the *French* land.
outwitted the *English* in the Trea-
ty of Peace that was concluded
there) dying in the Year 1483.
left behind him two (a) Sons and several (b)
Daughters. The Government of the two Sons

(a) *Edward* and *Richard*, both inhumanely murder'd, and as obscurely buried by their own Uncle *Richard* Duke of *Gloucester*, who afterwards usurp'd the Kingdom by the Title of *Richard III.*

(b) His eldest Daughter the Lady *Elizabeth* was married to *Henry* Earl of *Richmond*, afterwards known by the Name of *Henry VII.* by which Match the two contending Houses of *York* and *Lancaster* were united. The younger Daughters were bestow'd, one in a Nunnery, and others on inferior Lords. *Cicely* was married to *John* Viscount *Wells*: *Anne* to *Thomas Howard* Duke of *Norfolk*: *Bridget* was a profess'd Nun at *Dartford*: *Mary* was contracted to the King of *Denmark*, but died before Consummation of Marriage: *Margaret* died an Infant: and *Catherine* married *William Courtney* Earl of *Devonshire*. All these younger Princesses died without Issue, except the Lady *Catherine*; and her Posterity also failed in the third Descent. *Henry* her Son, Marquis of *Exeter*, suffered by Attainder in the Reign of *Henry VIII.* his Cousin-German; being not long before designed Heir apparent to the Crown (an Honour fatal in *England*) and his Son *Edward* untimely came to his End at *Padua* in *Italy*, in the Reign of Queen *Mary*; by whose Favours he had regain'd his Father's Honours and Possessions.

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was

A. D. 1489. was committed to the Duke of *Gloucester*, King Edward's Brother; who barbarously murder'd 'em, slew those of the Nobility whom he thought would oppose his Designs, and usurp'd the Crown. At last the Duke of *Buckingham* (who had espous'd the Duke of *Gloucester*'s Interest, even to the Usurpation of the Crown) fell out with him, and invited *Henry* Earl of *Richmond*, who had been an Exile in *Bretagne* for many Years, to come over into *England*, promising to join him with a powerful Army immediately upon his

The Duke of Bretagne, by the persuasion of Peter Landois, assists the Earl of Richmond in his Designs upon England. Landing. The Earl of *Richmond* communicated this Affair to *Peter Landois*, by whom the Duke of *Bretagne* was entirely govern'd at that time; who being in hopes that the Earl (if by his Interest he obtain'd the Kingdom of *England*) would assist him against his Enemies, persuaded the Duke of *Bretagne* to assist him with Men and Money, to carry on this Enterprize, who accordingly furnish'd him with three large Ships, and a considerable Body of Land-Forces, with which he put to Sea, and sail'd immediately for *England*.

The Earl of Richmond's Design miscarries, and he is driven up on the Coast of Normandy. As soon as they were arriv'd on the Coast of *England*, and ready to disembark, the Earl of *Richmond* receiv'd the unwelcome News of the Death of the Duke of *Buckingham* (whom King *Richard* had beheaded) the Defeat of his Troops, and King *Richard*'s being upon the Sea-Coast with a powerful Army, in expectation of his Landing. Upon this Intelligence the Earl of *Richmond* return'd, in hopes of recovering the Coast of *Bretagne*, from whence he set sail; but a Tempest overtook him, and drove him upon that of *Normandy*, where he was forced to land. The Dutchess of *Beaujeu* having notice of his Landing, sent a Gentleman belonging to her Household, to invite him to Court; where the King

King receiv'd him very graciously, and where he made some stay, after which he returned to *Vennes* in *Bretagne*, to remain there till a more favourable Opportunity. *Peter Landois* seeing himself dis-appointed in his Designs, alter'd his Mind, and made Overtures to King *Richard* to deliver the Earl of *Richmond* into his Hands; but the Earl, being secretly inform'd of it, under pretence of going a Hawking one Morning, fled with about ten or twelve Horse into *France* to King *Charles VIII.* who afterwards furnish'd him with Ships and some Soldiers, to assist him in his Design upon *England*; by whose Help, and that of his own Relations, who had invited him over, and espous'd his Interest, he fought, vanquish'd and slew King *Richard* in the Field; and was himself crown'd King in his room. This generous Assistance of King *Charles's*, join'd to the King of *England's* Desire of living peaceably and growing rich, was the Reason why *Henry VII.* during all the Wars and Troubles in *Bretagne*, never invaded *France*, tho' he had often been earnestly solicited to do it, both by the Duke of *Bretagne*, the Count *de Dunois*, and the rest of the Lords of that Faction. For generally when any Troubles arose in *France*; our Neighbours, especially the *English*, within a Year, are invited to take part of the Feast, and so was *Henry VII.* King of *England*, and had certainly invaded *France*, if the above-mention'd Reasons, join'd to some other private ones, to wit, Fear of a Civil War in his own Kingdom, had not kept him at home.

However, notwithstanding the King of *England's* Backwardness to invade *France*; yet in the Year 1490. partly by the Instigation of *Maximilian*, who had promis'd him great Assistance

A. D.

1489.

Peter Landois

dois en-

deavours

to deliver

him into

the Hands

of Richard

III. King

of Eng-

land.

The King

of France

assists the

Earl of

Rich-

mond,

who kills

King Ri-

chard III.

and is

crown'd

King him-

self.

A. D.

1490.

A. D. 1490. in his Wars, (but disappointed him) and partly to please his own Subjects, who already began to think him too much in the *French* Interest, by suffering 'em, to the prejudice of *England*, to annex the Dutchy of *Bretagne* to the Crown of *France*; he pass'd the Seas, and besieged (a) *Bologne*, whither the Lord *des Cordes*, and the Bastard of *Cardonne*, Governor of *Arras*, were sent with a small Body of Troops to reinforce the Garrison, and put the Place into a Posture of Defence. Besides, the King rais'd an Army, in order to relieve the Town; but those Forces not being assembled in any great haste, the two above-mention'd Officers took upon them the Command and Defence of it. The Siege was not carried on with any Vigour, so that the *French* sent an Herald into the *English* Camp to make some Overtures of Peace, to which King *Henry* seem'd not to be averse, as well for the Affection he bore the King of *France*, who had assisted him in his obtaining the Crown of *England*, as also for fear of Sedition at home, which hinder'd him from being long absent out of his Dominions; because *Maximilian* had broken his Word with him; and lastly, because he hop'd, by this (b) Peace, to receive of the King a vast Sum of Money, which he lov'd extremely well, as being the most covetous Prince that ever reign'd in *Europe*. The Lord *des Cordes*

Hen. VII.
King of
England
besieges
Bologne.

(a) According to our *English* Chronicles, the Siege of *Bologne* was in the Year 1491.

(b) Sir *Francis Bacon*, in the Life of *Henry VII.* says it rather deserves the Name of a Bargain than a Treaty of Peace; and that the King being ashamed of the inglorious Terms he had made with the *French* King, a little before the Peace was concluded, under-hand procur'd some of the chief Officers of his Army and Captains of his Fleet, to address him to make Peace in an earnest manner, and in the nature of a Supplication.

finding

finding the King of *England's* Inclinations for A. D. Peace, went and had a Conference with him in 1490. his Camp. His Majesty's Demands were, first, a great Sum of Money, which he said he had lent the late Duke of *Bretagne*; and secondly, that the King should pay him all the Charge he had been at in this War. To all these Demands the King of *France* agreed, and an Order was sign'd, by which the King of *England* was to receive annually such a certain Sum of Money, till the whole demanded by him was paid; and in this shameful and dishonourable manner the King of *England* return'd home. In the mean time, while the Lord *des Cordes* and the Bastard of *Cardonne* were at *Bologne*, treating with the King of *England*; the Citizens of *Arras* knowing the Town not to be well fortified, tamper'd with the Garrison to persuade 'em to deliver it up to *Maximilian*, who accordingly sent a Detachment thither, which secretly and with great diligence approach'd the Walls of the Place. When all things were in a readiness, and the Gates being so slightly guarded, that the Traitors with their false Keys had open'd them, they began a Song, in which they desired the Enemies to hasten their March, who immediately came up to the Gates, and were admitted into the Town. *Paul Carquelevant*, a *Breton*, who was Governor of the Town in the Absence of the Bastard of *Cardonne*, retir'd; upon the Enemy's first Entrance, with his Garrison into the Castle; but fearing lest it should be taken by Storm, presently abandon'd it after a most shameful manner; for if he had but held out till the next Day, a considerable Body of *French* Troops had been sent to relieve it. The Town was plunder'd, and several People kill'd, neither did

Hen. VII.
raises the
Siege of
Bologne
for a Sum
of Money.

The Town
of Arras
surpriz'd
by Maxi-
milian's
Troops.

A.D. 1490. they spare the Churches nor the Houses of those that betray'd it. The Author of this Treason was a poor Smith, that liv'd upon the Town-wall, and was the only Person that was suffer'd to remain in the Town when *Lewis XI.* transported the Townsmen as a Colony into *France*. *Carquelevant* the Governor, when the Town was surpris'd, lay fast asleep and dead drunk, as it was reported. The Town was plunder'd, by reason that *Maximilian* ow'd his Soldiers some Months Pay, and they were forced to do it for Subsistence. *St. Omers* was also surpriz'd at the same time, tho' some refer it to another; but whenever it was taken, it is certain it was owing to the Negligence of the Guards that were posted at the Gates: For the Enemy, whose Troops were commanded by *Monsieur George Daberfin*, made a shew upon their first investing the Town, as if they design'd to have scal'd it, at which time the *French* Garrison were in Arms upon the Walls, and ready to receive 'em; and the Town was strong and very defensible both by Art and Nature. Upon this the Enemy, pretending to be afraid, retir'd to their Camp, nay even farther, when the *French* Garrison fallied out to fall upon their Rear; and thus they continued to retreat for eight Days together, and by this Piece of Policy and Dissimulation made the *French* careless and negligent in their Duty, which being perceived by the *Burgundians* and *Germans*, they with great Expedition planted Scaling Ladders against the Walls and Bulwarks of the Town, and easily enter'd it, the Guards being fast asleep, and in some Places none at all. As soon as they had scal'd the Walls, they forced open the Gates, put the *French* Garrison, and the greatest part of the Citi-

St. Omers
surpriz'd
by Maxi-
milian's
Troops.

Citizens, to the Sword, and so became Masters of the Town. A. D. 1490.

At the same time also *Amiens* was attempted by the *Burgundians* in the Night, and like to have been surpriz'd by the same Negligence of the Guards; but *Catharine de Liques* (a Woman of an heroick Courage) awaken'd the Guards out of their dead Sleep, by which means the Alarm-Bell was rung, and the Garrison and the Townsmen repair'd immediately to their Arms; part of which defended the Walls, and the rest of 'em made a Sally, fought and defeated *Maximilian's* Troops, who generously own'd, that the Vigilance and Industry of one Woman had wrested the Victory out of their Hands.

C H A P. VIII.

Of the Restitution of Roussillon and Perpignan to the King of Spain; of the Emperor Frederick's Death; of the Peace between the King of the Romans and the King; and of the Duke of Orleans's Release out of Prison.

FERDINAND, King of Arragon, desired nothing more than to recover the Counties of Roussillon and Perpignan out of the King's Hands, which were mortgaged by him (as he said) to Lewis XI. for fifty thousand Crowns. The Nobility of France would not consent to this Restitution, because those two Countries were a Barrier to the Kingdom on that side towards Spain, A. D. 1492.

A. D. 1492. alledging that they were not engag'd to King *Lewis*, but absolutely sold; and tho' the King of *Spain* maintain'd, that *Lewis XI.* by his last Will and Testament, had order'd those Countries to be restor'd, as knowing them to be unjustly detain'd; yet his Remonstrances and Allegations were but of little force. Therefore finding he could do no good that way, he began to tamper with Priests and holy People, hoping by their preaching up Conscience and Justice to the King; to gain of his Majesty what was impossible for him to obtain by any other means. In order to effect his Designs, he corrupted with a large Sum of Money Father *Oliver Maillard*, or according to other Authors, *John de Mauleon*, a *Franciscan* Friar, and Confessor to the Dutches of *Beaujeu*, the King's Sister; who under the Pretence of Religion hiding his Hypocrisy and Avarice, persuaded her, that if Restitution of these Territories were not immediately made to the King of *Spain*, that the King her Brother could never expect a prosperous and happy Reign. The Dutches of *Beaujeu* being touch'd in Conscience by this Friar's Persuasions, open'd the whole Matter to *Lewis d'Amboise* Bishop of *Alba*, the King's School-master, who in conjunction with her, so terrified the King's Conscience; that he not only made Restitution of the said Territories by the Hands of the above-mention'd Bishop, but also gave the King of *Arragon* the Money that his Father *Lewis XI.* had paid for 'em; upon these Conditions, that the said King of *Arragon* and his Successors should for the future be in Friendship and Amity with the Kingdom of *France*; that he should make no War against it, nor aid or assist with either Money, Troops, Provi-

Provisions or Council, the Enemies thereof; nor to grant them a Passage through his Dominions. And after this manner were these Provinces restor'd, to the universal Dislike and Mortification of the Subjects of *France*; but in reality the King was the rather inclin'd to restore 'em, because his Majesty began already, by the Persuasion of some of his Courtiers, to have some thoughts of his Expedition to *Naples*, for the Recovery of that Kingdom; which afterwards succeeded, tho' the King, both at that time, and long afterwards, kept his Designs secret to himself, and one or two more; which intended Expedition we believe was the principal Cause of his restoring the abovemention'd Provinces, to oblige the King of *Spain* to stand neuter, and not give him any Disturbance in his Designs. But he was mistaken; for no sooner had the King pass'd the Mountains with his Army, but the King of *Spain* forgot all his Favours and Obligations, and endeavour'd to form an Alliance with his Enemies against him.

During these Transactions in *France*, the Emperor *Frederick* died; to whom his Son *Maximilian* succeeded, who however was never crown'd, neither was he ambitious of that Honour; for if he had, he might easily have obtain'd it.

The Emperor *Maximilian* designing to quiet and pacify the State of the Empire, which his Father's Death had involv'd in some Troubles, seem'd more desirous to make Peace with the King, than he had formerly been, which happen'd very fortunately for the King's Affairs; for without a Peace with *Maximilian*, it had been impracticable for his Majesty to have undertaken his Expedition to *Italy*; but both Parties being inclin'd to Peace, it was soon concluded.

A. D.

1492.

Roussillon

and Per-

pignan re-

stored to

the King

of Spain.

A. D.

1493.

The Death

of the Em-

peror Fre-

derick.

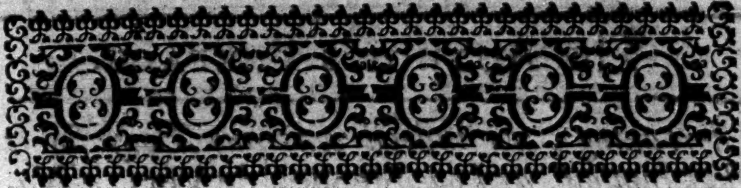
A. D. 1493. cluded. The Emperor's Daughter was restor'd to him, and with her the County of *Artois*, and all the Towns his Imperial Majesty demanded. And thus the King being in Peace with all his Neighbours, to wit, the Emperor and the Kings of *England* and *Spain*; and being by his Marriage in the quiet Possession of the Dutchy of *Bretagne*, and by that means having no Enemy to fear, he began wholly to think of his intended Expedition to *Italy*, on which he had long fix'd his Mind.

Lewis
Duke of
Orleans
releas'd
out of
Prison.

Besides, about this time the King, at the earnest Request and Sollicitation of his Sister *Jane*, (a Lady of singular Piety and Vertue) restor'd not only to his Liberty, but his Favour, *Lewis Duke of Orleans*, (the Lady *Jane's* Husband) who was taken Prisoner at the Battle of *St. Aubin* in *Bretagne*, as you have already heard; by which Action of Generosity the King not only deserv'd the highest Commendations for his Clemency in preserving his Enemy, and restoring him to his former Dignity and Honour; but by it took care that no discontented Subject at home should disturb the Tranquility of the Kingdom in his Absence, in his Expedition to *Italy*, to which the Memoirs of *Philip de Comines* now call us; which History, from the Death of *Lewis XI.* to this present Time, have been supplied out of other good and valuable Authors; because *Philip de Comines* himself, who was either in Prison or in Disgrace at Court, almost from the Death of *Lewis XI.* to the above-mentioned Expedition into *Italy* (in which he was present) has been silent, and has left nothing in Writing to Posterity, of what Occurrences happen'd during that Space of Time.

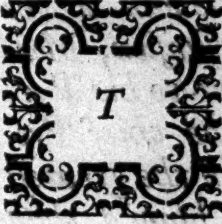
The End of the Supplement.

The



The Author's PREFACE,

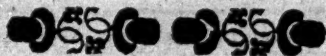
Giving an Account of the Design of his *Memoirs* concerning the Reign of *Charles VIII.* the Son of *Lewis XI.* but with Intermission of some Years, from the Death of *Lewis XI.* till he re-assumes his Discourse; which is from the Year 1483, to 1494.



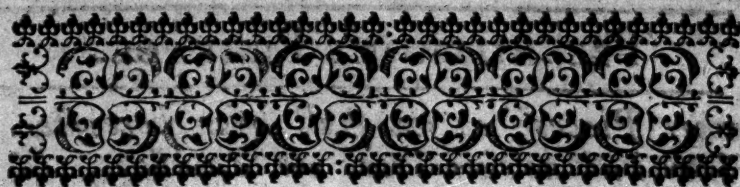
*T*O continue these *Memoirs*, which were begun by me *Philip de Comines*, concerning the *Exploits and Reign of our late King Lewis XI.* I will now give you an Account what induced his Son *Charles VIII.* to undertake his Expedition into Italy, in which I was present. The King set out from Vienna in Dauphine the 23d of August, 1494. and return'd into his Kingdom in the Year 1495. Before he undertook this Enterprize, it was warmly debated, whether he should go or not; for to all Persons of Experience and Wisdom it was look'd upon as a very dangerous Undertaking;

dertaking; nor indeed was any Body for it but himself, and one Stephen de Vers, a Native of Languedoc of very mean Extraction, and one who had never seen or had the least Knowledge of Military Affairs. There was also one Brissonet, who was of the Council, and belong'd to the Finances; but his Heart failed him, and he shrunk his Neck out of the Collar. However this Expedition turned much to his Advantage afterwards; for he had great Preferment in the Church, was made a Cardinal, and his Fortune advanced by the Addition of several spiritual Promotions. De Vers was possess'd of a plentiful Estate before, was made Seneschal of Beaucaire, and President of the Accompts at Paris; for in his Youth he had served the King faithfully in Quality of Gentleman of the Bedchamber, and by his Persuasion, Monsieur Brissonet was brought over to his Party; so that they two were the chief Promoters of this Expedition, which the greatest part of the Kingdom rather blam'd than commended them for: because, not only all things necessary for so great an Enterprize were wanting; but the King was young, foolish, and obstinate, without either Money, Officers, or Soldiers: So that before he began his March, he was forced to borrow a Hundred Thousand Franks of the Bank of Genoa at an extravagant Interest, from Mart to Mart; besides what he took up in
other

other Places, as you shall hear hereafter. They had neither Tents nor Pavilions, tho' it was Winter when the Army entred into Lombardy. One thing indeed was very handsom, and that was a Brigade of young Volunteers, who were lively and brisk, but under no Command or Discipline. So that we may conclude, this whole Expedition, both going and coming, was conducted purely by God; for, as we said before, the Wisdom of the Contrivers of this Scheme contributed but little: However they may boast of this, that they were the Occasion of highly advancing the Honour of their King.



THE



THE
MEMOIRS
OF
PHILIP de COMINES,
Lord of *Argenton*,

Containing the principal Exploits and
Transactions during the Reign of
CHARLES VIII. to the Death of
that Prince, and LEWIS XII's
Accession to the Crown, in the
Year 1498.

BOOK VII.

CHAP. I.

Of Renè, Duke of Lorrain's coming into
France, to demand the Dutchy of Bar,
and the County of Provence, which the
King had in his Possession; and his be-
ing disappointed in his Pretensions to the
Kingdom of Naples, to which he laid
Claim as well as the King; with an
Account of their Titles.



S soon as the King was ^{The House} fourteen or fifteen Years old, of Lor-
 which was an Age fit to be ^{rain's} crown'd, the Duke of Lor- ^{Claim to}
 rain came to him to demand ^{the County} of Pro-
 the Dutchy of Bar, which ^{of Pro-}vence.
 King Lewis XI. kept from
 him; and the County of *Provence*, which King
Charles of Anjou his Cousin German, dying with-
 out Issue, left to *Lewis XI.* by his last Will and
 Testament. The Duke of *Lorraine* laid claim to it,
 as being Son to the Daughter of *Renè* King of *Si-*
cily, Duke of *Anjou*, and Earl of *Provence*; alledg-
 ing that the King of *Sicily* had highly injur'd him,
 for that the said *Charles of Anjou* was but his Bro-
 ther's Son, whereas he was descended from his
 own Daughter: But the King pretended that
Provence could not be transferr'd by Will to a
 Daughter. The Conclusion of this Affair was,
 Bar was restored for a Sum of Money which the ^{The Dut-}
 King insisted upon, and the Duke of *Lorraine* be- ^{chy of Bar}
 ing in great Favour, and having many Friends at ^{surren-}
 Court, (especially *John* Duke of *Bourbon*, who ^{der'd to}
 was old, and desirous to marry his Sister) ^{the Duke} of Lor-
 had the Command of a hundred Lances given ^{rain.}
 him, and a Pension of 36000 Franks for four
 Years, in which time his Title to *Provence* was to
 be examin'd into. I was one of this Council,
 which was chosen on Purpose, which consisted
 of the King's Relations, and the three Estates of
 the Kingdom, to determine the Matter. *Ste-*
phen de Vers (whom I mention'd before) was a-
 nother, who had got some Estate in *Provence*,

(a) He was crown'd at *Rheims* the 30th of May, 1484.
 which

which he was unwilling to part with, and therefore made the King, as young as he was, to declare (in the Presence of his Sister the Dutchess of *Bourbon*) the Count *de Comminges*, and the Lord *du Lau*, (both likewise of the Council) and my self, that we should have a Care he did not lose the County of *Provence*, and this was transacted before the above-mention'd Agreement.

Before the Expiration of the four Years, some Persons of *Provence* produc'd a new Will of *Charles I.* who was Brother to Saint *Lewis*, and of other Kings of *Sicily*, of the House of *France*. By these it was pretended, that not only the County of *Provence* belong'd to the King, but the Kingdom of *Sicily* also, and other Places possess'd by the House of *Anjou*; and that the Duke of *Lorraine* had no Title to any of them; (which other People denied) those who were against the Duke of *Lorraine's* Title, were influenc'd by this *Stephen de Vers*, who possess'd his Master that the last King *Charles*, Earl of *Provence*, Son of *Charles* of *Anjou* Count *du Maine*, and Nephew to King *Renè*, had left it to him by his Will. For he had made him his Heir before he died, and preferr'd him before the Duke of *Lorraine*, who was his own Daughter's Son: and this they urged was done by King *Renè*, in consideration of the Wills of *Charles I.* and his Wife the Countess of *Provence*, by which they had enjoin'd, that that Kingdom and the Country of *Provence*, should not be separated, nor descend to a Daughter whilst there was a Son living of the Line. And they affirm'd, that the Wills of their Successors were to the same Effect, and particularly the Will of *Charles II.*

During the time of these four Years, they that had the Management of the King, who were

were the Duke and Dutcheſs of (c) *Bourbon*, one (b) *Graville*, and others, Lords of his Bed-chamber, who were in great Power) ſent for the Duke of *Lorrain* to Court, and put him into Places of great Truſt and Authority; that being a Perſon of a more enterpriſing Temper than the reſt of the Courtiers, he might aid and aſſiſt them in their Undertakings: beſides, they queſtion'd not to find a Way to get rid of him when they had no farther Service for him, as they did afterwards, when they found they were able to manage Affairs by themſelves; and the Power of the Duke of *Orleans*, and the reſt of the Nobility in his Faction was weaken'd and began to decline a-pace. And to ſay the Truth, after the

Manage-
ment of
Affairs of
France
during the
Minority
of Charles
VIII.

(c) *Madam de Beaujeu*, Dutcheſs of *Bourbon*, was appointed by *Lewis XI.* and the three Eſtates of the Kingdom, to be Regent of *France*, during the Minority of her Brother *Charles VIII.* But the Duke of *Orleans*, who was afterwards *Lewis XII.* oppos'd that Decree, and in Conjunction with ſome of the Nobility, took up Arms, and demanded the Regency, as the firſt Prince of the Blood; and it was againſt this Confederacy, that the Dutcheſs of *Bourbon* invited and call'd in the Duke of *Lorrain* to her Aſſiſtance.

(b) *Lewis Malet*, Lord of *Graville*, *Marcouſſy*, and *Bois-males-herbes*, Governor of *Picardy* and *Normandy*, and made Admiral of *France*, in the Year 1485. He enjoy'd that Poſt once more after the Death of his Son-in-Law, *Charles d'Amboiſe*, Lord of *Chaumont*, Lieutenant-General for the King, and Governor of *Paris*, *Milan*, *Genoa*, and *Normandy*, Knight of the King's Order, Maſhal and Lord High-Steward of *France*; Nephew to the famous Cardinal *George d'Amboiſe*; who arriv'd to the Honour and Dignity of being Admiral of *France*, by the Reſignation of his Father-in-law, the Admiral *de Graville*, and died two Years afterwards, in the Year 1508. at *Corregio* in *Lombardy*. The Admiral *de Graville* died the 30th of *October*, in the Year 1516.

Expiration of the four Years the Duke of *Lorraine* would stay no longer at Court, unless they would put him into Possession of the County of *Provence*, or secure it to him in writing at a prefixt Time, and continue his Pension of 36000 Franks; but not agreeing in the Point, the Duke of *Lorraine* left *France*, highly disgusted with the Court.

A Rebel-
lion in the
Kingdom
of Naples,
against
King Fer-
rand.

Four or five Months before his leaving the Court, a very advantageous Overture was made him, if he had known how to have accepted it. The whole Kingdom of *Naples* was in Rebellion against King *Ferrand*, for his and his Sons Tyranny, so that all the Barons, and three Parts of the Kingdom, submitted themselves to the Church; but the said King *Ferrand*, with the Assistance of the *Florentines*, press'd them very hard; upon which the (d) Pope, and the Lords who were in Arms against them, sent to the Duke of *Lorraine*, to have made him King, and they were so far in earnest in the matter, that the Gallies under the Command of the Cardinal of *Saint Peter ad Vincula*, waited for him a long time at *Genoa*, whilst he was quarrelling at Court, tho' Ambassadors from all the Nobility of that Kingdom were with him, and pressing him daily to be gone. The Result of all was, the King and his Council exprest great Readiness to assist him: He was promis'd 60000 Franks, and receiv'd 20000 of them, the rest he lost; he had leave to carry his hundred Lances along with him, and was told that the King would send Ambassadors to foreign Courts, to espouse his Interest. However, tho' the King was now

(d) Pope Julius II.

nineteen Years of Age ; yet he was still govern'd by the Persons above-named, who were always filling his Ears with his undoubted Title to the Kingdom of *Naples*, which I insert the rather, because Persons of little Consideration are often capable of raising great Troubles ; and so I understood they did there, by several of the Duke of *Lorraine's* Ambassadors to *Rome*, *Florence*, *Genoa*, and elsewhere ; as also by the Duke himself as he pass'd by *Moulins*, where I then resided, upon Account of the Dispute between the Court and *John Duke of Bourbon*. But the Duke of *Lorraine's* Opportunity was half lost already by his own Delay ; however, I went out to meet and compliment him, tho' I had no Obligation to do it ; for he was partly the Occasion of my being remov'd from Court, and had given me very abusive Language ; but now no body so dear to him as I ; he caress'd me at a most extravagant Rate, and complain'd heavily of those who had the present Administration of Affairs. He continued two Days with *John Duke of Bourbon*, and then he set out for *Lions*.

In short, his Friends were so weary and tir'd with Expectation, that both Pope and Barons came to an Accommodation with King *Ferrand* ; upon which the Barons adventuring to *Naples*, were all seiz'd and imprison'd, though the Pope, the *Venerians*, the King of *Spain*, and the *Florentines*, were all of them their Guarantees, and had promis'd and sworn to the contrary. The Prince of *Salerno* escap'd into *France*, refusing to be comprehended in the Treaty of Accommodation, as knowing the revengeful Temper of King *Ferrand* ; and the Duke of *Lorraine* return'd with great Shame and Dishonour into his own Country. He was never afterwards in any Credit

with our King, who took away his Lances, stopp'd his 36000 Franks for the County of *Provence*, and in that Condition he stands this very Day, (e) 1497.

C H A P. II.

Of the coming of the Prince of Salerno, a Neapolitan by Birth, into France ; of the Endeavours that were us'd by him and Lodowick Sforza, surnam'd the Moor, to perswade the King to make War upon the King of Naples, and the Occasion of it.

THE Prince of Salerno, with three of his Nephews, Sons to the Prince of *Bisignan*, fled to *Venice* ; where they were kindly received. Their Business was to consult that Senate (as the Prince told me himself) to know what Prince they should address themselves to, whether to the Duke of *Lorrain*, the King of *France*, or the King of *Spain*. He told me their Answer was, that the Duke of *Lorrain's* Affairs were in a desperate Condition, and 'twas impossible for him ever to relieve them ; that the King of *Spain* would be too powerful by the Addition of the Kingdom of *Naples* to the Isle of *Sicily*, and what he had already in the Gulf of *Venice* ; and that his Strength at Sea was very considerable already : but if they

(e) 'Tis presum'd the Author finish'd these Memoirs in this Year.

might advise, they would rather have them apply themselves to the King of *France*; for with the Kings of *France* who formerly reign'd in *Naples*, they have held very good Friendship and Amity; and this I believe was spoken without any Prospect of what happen'd afterwards. The Conclusion of all was, the Barons came into *France*, were well receiv'd, but indifferently supply'd; they sollicitied very hard for two Years together, and all their Application was to *Steven de Vers*, at that time Seneschal of *Beaucaire*, and Chamberlain to the King. One Day they were in Hopes, another in Despair; however their Friends used the same Diligence in *Italy*, especially in *Milan*, where *John Galeas* was Duke, not the great *Galeas*, who was buried in the Charter-house in *Pavia*, but the Son of Duke *Galeas* and the Dutcheß *Bona* a Daughter of the House of *Savoy*, which Duke being a weak Prince, the Dutcheß had the Education of her Children; and I have seen her (when she was a Widow) in great Authority, but manag'd by one of her Secretaries call'd *Cico*, who had been a long time in that Family, and had driven out or imprison'd all the Brothers of this Duke *Galeas*, to secure the Dutcheß and her Children. Among the rest he banish'd one *Lodowick*, (who was since Duke of *Milan*) whom he recall'd, tho' he was her Enemy, and actually in Arms against her; as also one *Robert di St. Severino*, a Person of great Valour and Experience in military Affairs, whom by the Advice of this *Cico* she had likewise banish'd. At last, by the Persuasion of one *Anthony Tassino*, who was her wickSfor-Carver, (a Native of *Ferrara*, and of mean Extraction) she recall'd them very indiscreetly; ^{from Ba-} ^{nishment.} presuming that according to their Oaths and

Promises, they would do no Harm to *Cico*. But the third day after their Return they took *Cico*, put him into a Tub, and in Derision carried him in Triumph through the Town. This *Cico* had married with one of the Family of the *Visconti*, and had they been in the way, these durst not have seiz'd him. This was a Contrivance of *Lodowick's*, that *Robert di St. Severino*, being to pass that way, might have the Pleasure of beholding him in that Posture, for he knew he abhorr'd him: After which *Cico* was conducted to the Castle of *Parvia*, where he died a Prisoner.

They paid the Lady all possible Respect, and as she thought complied with her in every thing; but they held private Cabals among themselves, and never communicated any thing to her but what was of little Importance, and she took it for the greatest Kindness imaginable not to trouble her with any thing.

They gave her Leave to caress *Anthony Tassino* and make him what Presents she pleased: They assign'd him an Apartment near her own, and permitted him to carry her on Horseback behind him quite through the Town, and nothing but Feasting and Dancing was to be seen in her Palace. This way of Living did not continue long, scarce half a Year, during which time she made him several rich Presents, and all Pacquets were directed to him, which render'd him odious to and highly distast'd *Lodowick*, (Uncle to the Children) who intended to make himself Sovereign, as he did afterwards. One Morning the Children were both taken from their Mother, and carried to the Castle, which they call'd *the Rock*, where they were secured by the Appointment of *Lodowick*, *Robert di St. Severino*, and one

one *Pallevoisin*, (the young Duke's Governour) and (f) Captain of the Castle, who before the Death of Duke *Galeas* never stirr'd out of it, nor a long time after; till at length he was taken by the Circumvention of *Lodowick*, and the Folly of his Master, who took after the Mother, and was no wiser than he should be. When these Persons had secur'd the Children in the Castle, they seiz'd upon the Treasury, (which at that time was the richest in Christendom) and took an Account of it; after which they caused three Keys to be made, of which she had one, but she never touch'd one Farthing of the Money afterwards. They made her renounce the Guardianship of her Son, and Count *Lodowick* was deputed in her Place: Besides, they wrote Letters full of Reflections on her into several Places, and particularly into *France*; which I saw, and those contain'd severe Remarks on her Conduct, in relation to her Favourite *Anthony Tassino*; yet they sent him away without any other Punishment; for the Lord *Robert* was his Friend, and would not suffer either his Person or Estate to be touch'd. But these two great Men could not as yet get Admittance into the Castle when they pleas'd; for the Captain had a Brother in it, and near a hundred and fifty Men, who always order'd the Gate to be very strictly guarded when they enter'd; and would not suffer above one or two to come in with them, and this Caution was used for a long time.

(f) This Captain had no ill Design upon the Children, as the rest had; but only consented to their being put into the Castle, as believing them safer there, than under the Government of their foolish Mother.

Two
Statesmen
seldom a-
gree toge-
ther.

No Differ-
ence in
Italy be-
tween na-
tural Chil-
dren and
those born
in Wed-
lock, in the
Author's
Time.

Lodo-
wick's
bold Pro-
ceedings.

In the mean while a great Dispute arose be-
tween *Lodowick* and *Robert di St. Severino*, as is usual,
for 'tis impossible for two Persons in Authority
to agree long ; but *Lodowick* getting the upper
Hand, the other quitted *Milan*, and went into
the *Venetian* Service. Yet since that, two of his
Sons, the Lord *Galeas* and the Count *di Cajazzo*,
came back and served the Count *de Lodowick* and
the State of *Milan* ; some say they came with
their Father's Consent, others say not, be it
which it will, *Lodowick* entertain'd them very
kindly, and they have, and do still serve him, ve-
ry faithfully. You must know that this *Robert*
their Father was of the House of *St. Severino*,
but by a Natural Daughter, which in *Italy* is no
great Matter ; for a Natural Daughter with
them is as good as one lawfully begotten. I
mention this Particular upon account of their
assisting us in our Enterprize in that Country
in favour of the Prince of *Salerno*, (who is chief
of the House of *St. Severino*) and for other
Reasons, which you shall hear in another
Place.

This *Lodowick* began presently to make it
appear, that he would stick at nothing to esta-
blish his Authority : He caus'd Money to be
coin'd with the Duke's Effigies on one side, and
his own on the other, which disgusted abun-
dantly of the People of *Milan*. The Duke was
married to the Duke of *Calabria's* Daughter,
who after the death of his Father *Ferrand* King
of *Naples*, was King himself by the Name of *Al-
phonso* ; the young Lady was very couragious,
and would fain have irritated her Husband to
the Vindication of his Authority ; but he was a
weak Prince, and still discover'd all she said,
The Captain of the Castle maintain'd his Repu-
tation

ration for a long while, but never stirr'd from his Command. Jealousies began now to arise, so that both the Sons never went abroad together, but when one went forth the other staid behind. In short, about a Year or two before our Expedition into *Italy*, this *Lodowick* having been abroad with the young Duke, and designing some Mischief against him, waited on him back to the Castle. The Captain having order'd the Draw-bridge to be let down, and advanc'd a little Way upon it with some of his Officers, to receive the Duke, and kiss his Hand according to the usual Custom: The Duke being at some Distance from the Bridge the Captain was forced to step forward a Pace or two; upon which the two Sons of *St. Severino*, and others that were with them, seiz'd on him and secured him. Those of the Castle pull'd up the Draw-bridge, upon which this *Lodowick* causing the End of a Candle to be lighted, swore he would cut off the Captain's Head if they did not surrender the Castle before that Candle was burnt out; upon which they submitted, and he fortified it, and put a strong Garrison in it for himself, tho' all was done in the Duke's Name. *Lodowick* caus'd a Charge to be exhibited likewise against the Captain, upon Pretence that he would have deliver'd up the Castle to the *Emperor*; and seiz'd upon several *Germans*, which (as he gave out) were Agents in the Business, but discharg'd them again; and beheaded one of his Secretaries as a principal Manager of that Affair, and another for carrying Messages betwixt them. *Lodowick* kept the Captain a long while in Prison; but at last he releas'd him, pretending (that when the Dutchess of *Milan* had upon a certain Time corrupted one of his Brothers, and hir'd him

him to kill him as he was entring into the Castle) the Captain had prevented it; and upon that Account he had now spar'd his Life. Yet I am of Opinion, had he been guilty of a Design of delivering that Castle to the Emperor, (who had a double Title to it, as Emperor and Duke of *Austria*, which Family pretends to it likewise) he would scarce have excus'd him, for it would have produc'd great Disturbance in *Italy*, and the whole State of *Milan* would have revolted in a Day; for whilst they were under the Dominion of the Emperors, every House paid but half a Ducat Taxes; but now, both Clergy, Nobility and People are miserably oppress'd, and to speak the Truth, under perfect Slavery.

Lodowick being in Possession of the Castle, and finding all the Soldiers belonging to that Family devoted to his Service, resolv'd to proceed; for he that is Master of *Milan* has the whole Government, and the Senate, at his Mercy; because the principal Senators, and those who have the Charge of other Places in that Government, have their Residence there; and for the Bigness of it I never saw a richer or finer Country than the Dutchy of *Milan*: And if the Prince could content himself with a yearly Revenue of 500000 Ducats, the Subjects would grow wealthy, and the Prince be secure; but he raises six hundred and fifty or seven hundred thousand Ducats every Year, which is absolute Tyranny, and makes the People so fond of Revolutions. Upon this Consideration, and what has been said before, *Lodowick* (being married to the Duke of *Ferrara's* Daughter, by whom he had several Children) prepar'd to accomplish his Designs, and took Care to strengthen himself with Friends, both in *Italy* and abroad. He first

*He that
has the Ci-
ty of Mi-
lan is Lord
of the
whole
Country.*

first enter'd into an Alliance (for mutual Preservation) with the *Venetians*, to whom he had been a great Friend, to the Prejudice of his Father-in-law, from whom not long before, the *Venetians* had taken a small Territory call'd the *Polesan*, encompass'd entirely with Water, and wonderfully fruitful, which Place (tho' but half a League Distance from *Ferrara*) the *Venetians* keep to this day, and in it there are two pretty Towns, *Rovigo* and *Labadio*, which I have seen. This Country was lost upon the Duke of *Ferrara's* making War upon the *Venetians* at first by himself; but before the End of the War *Alphonso* Duke of *Calabria* (whilst his Father *Ferrand* was alive) Count *Lodowick* with the Forces of *Milan*, the *Florentines*, the Pope, and the City of *Bologna*, came into his Assistance: Yet when the *Venetians* were conquer'd, or at least very low, their Treasury exhausted, their Soldiers corrupted, and several of their Towns lost, *Lodowick* made an honourable and advantageous Peace for them, by which all was to be restored to every Body but the poor Duke of *Ferrara*, who had begun the War at the Instigation of *Ferrand*, and this *Lodowick* who had married his Daughter; for the Duke of *Ferrara* was forced to let the *Polesan* remain in the Hands of the *Venetians*, who keep it to this day. It was reported, that *Lodowick* had sixty thousand Ducats for his Pains; whether true or false, I cannot yet determine; but I am sure the Duke of *Ferrara* was of that Opinion himself. At this time he was not married to his Daughter; and therefore the Friendship between him and the *Venetians* continued.

None of all the Subjects or Relations of *John Galeas* Duke of *Milan*, gave *Lodowick* the least Disturbance in his Designs upon the Government,

A. D. 1493. ment, unless it were the young Dutchess; who was a wise Lady, Daughter to *Alphonso* Duke of *Calabria* (as I said before) eldest Son to *Ferrand* King of *Naples*. In the Year 1493. Count *Lodowick* began to sollicite *Charles VIII.* now reigning in *France*, to an Expedition into *Italy*, to conquer the Kingdom of *Naples*, and to supplant and exterminate those who possess'd it; for whilst they were in Authority *Lodowick* durst not attempt what he did afterwards; for at that time *Ferrand* and *Alphonso* his Son were both very rich, of great Experience in the Wars, and had the Reputation of being very valiant Princes; though it appear'd otherwise upon occasion. This *Lodowick* was a wise Man, but very timorous and humble where he was in awe, and false when it was for his Advantage; and this I do not speak by hear-say, but as one that knew him well, and had many Transactions with him. But to proceed, in the Year 1493. Count *Lodowick* began to tickle King *Charles*, (who was but 22 Years of Age) with the Vanities and Glories of *Italy*, remonstrating (as is reported) the Right which he had to the Kingdom of *Naples*, which he knew well enough how to blazon and display. He address'd himself in every thing to *Stephen de Vers*, (who was now become Seneschal of *Beaucaire*, and much enrich'd, tho' not to the Height of his ambitious Desires) and General *Brissonet*, who was rich, well skill'd in the Management of the *Finances*, and a great Man with the Seneschal of *Beaucaire*, by whose Means Count *Lodowick* persuaded *Brissonet* to turn (a) Priest, and he would make him a Car-

(a) He must certainly be in Orders before that time, or else he could not have been in Possession of the Bishoprick of *St. Mala*.

dinal; but the Senefcal was to have a Dutchy : A. D. For the better Management of these Affairs, 1493. Count *Lodowick*, in the Year 1493. sent a formal Embassy to the King at *Paris* : The chief of the Embassy was the Count *di Cajazzo*, eldest Son of *Robert di St. Severino*, (whom I mention'd before.) This Count *di Cajazzo* met the Prince of *Salerno* at *Paris*, who was his Cousin, and chief of the House of *St. Severino*, and being banish'd his own Country by *Ferrand*, was then in *France*, pressing and solliciting that King to an Enterprize against *Naples*. With the Count *di Cajazzo* came also Count *Charles de (b) Bellejoyeuse*, and the Lord *(c) Galeas Visconti* of *Milan*; both of them were well attended, and in great Splendor; but their Discourse was only in publick, and then in general Terms by the way of Complement and Visitation; and this was the first solemn Embassy that ever *Lodowick* sent to the King. He had formerly sent one of his Secretaries to endeavour to procure that his Nephew the Duke of *Milan* might be permitted to do Homage for *Genoa* by Proxy, which was granted against all Appearance of Reason. 'Tis true, the King was at Liberty to do him that Favour, and depute some Person or other to receive his Homage; for when he was under the Guardianship of his Mother, I (being then Ambassador at *Milan* for the late King *Lewis XI.*) receiv'd it by Commission from the King in the Castle of *Milan*; but then *Genoa* was out of his

(b) *Belzoiofo*, in *Marco Guazzo*, whom *P. Jovius*, in the History of his Time, names *Balbianus*; and the Italian, *Balbiano*.

(c) *Galiace*.

A. D. Hands, and in the Possession of *Baptista di Campo-
1492. forgofo*, and now Count *Lodowick* had reco-
ver'd it, and gave 8000 Ducats (to some Per-
sons about the King) to be invest'd: But they
did their Master a mighty Injury, for they
might have had *Genoa* as well for him; or if it
must be sold, why for so little? since Duke *Ga-
leas* paid my Master King *Lewis* fifty thousand
Ducats at one Payment, of which I had thirty
thousand given me by his Majesty; and yet
they pretended they received the eight thousand
Ducats by the King's Consent. *Stephen de Vers*
was one of the Number of those that receiv'd
them, who beat down the Price to prepare and
oblige *Lodowick* to his Interest, when his Design
should be fir for Execution. The Ambassadors
being arriv'd at *Paris*, (as I said before) and ha-
ving had their publick Audience, the King took
the Count *di Cajazzo* into his Closet, and had
a private Conference with him for some time:
This Count *di Cajazzo* was in great Reputation
in *Milan*, and his Brother *John Galeas di St. Se-
verino* was in greater, especially in military Af-
fairs, who began to make large Offers of his
Interest and Assistance to the King both in Men
and Money; for his Master had already as ab-
solute a Command of the State of *Milan* as if it
had been his own, and could dispose of it as he
pleas'd. He represented the Business very easie
to the King, and the next day he and the Lord
Galeas took their leave of his Majesty and depart-
ed; but Count *Charles de Bellejoyeuse* remain'd
behind, to solicit it still, and immediately af-
ter they were gone, he put himself into the
French Habit, and manag'd this Affair so dex-
trously, that several of the Courtiers began
to approve of the Design. The King sent into
Italy

Italy one (d) *Peron de Basche* (educated in the Family of *Anjou* under *John Duke of Calabria*) as his Ambassador to (e) *Pope Innocent*, the *Venetians*, and the *Florentines*. These Embassies from one Court to another, and secret Negotiations continued seven or eight Months, and among those who were privy to it the Enterprize was talked of several ways; but none of them ever imagin'd that the King designed to have gone himself in Person.

A. D.

1493.

C H A P. III.

Of the Peace that was concluded between Charles VIII. the King of the Romans, and the Arch-Duke of Austria; and of the returning the Lady Margaret of Flanders, before this Expedition to Naples.

DURING this Suspension of Affairs, a Peace was negotiated at *Senlis* betwixt the King and the Arch-Duke of *Austria*, Heir to the House of *Burgundy*; and tho' a Truce was already concluded, yet new Occasion of Difference arose; for the King forsook the Daughter of the King of the *Romans*, and Sister to the Arch-Duke (upon account of her being too young) and married the (f) Daughter of *Francis Duke of Bretagne*, that

A Treaty of Peace at Senlis, between Charles VIII. and Maximilian King of the Romans, and his Son Philip Arch-Duke of Austria in 1493.

(d) *Peron de Basche* was Steward of the Household to *Charles VIII.*

(e) *Innocent VIII.* who died in the Year 1492.

(f) This was Queen *Anne of Bretagne.*

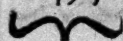
A. D. he might keep that Province peaceably ; the
1493. greatest part of which at the Time of the Treaty
was in his Possession, except the Town of *Rennes*,
where the young Lady lived under the Guardian-
ship of her Uncle the Prince of *Orange*, who
had been instrumental in making the Match be-
tween her and the King of the *Romans*, and mar-
ried her by Proxy publickly in the Church a-
bout the Year 1492. In favour of the Arch-
Duke the Emperor *Frederick* sent a solemn Em-
bassy, and offered his Mediation. The King of
the *Romans*, the Count *Palatine*, and the *Swiss* did
the like, in order to compose this Difference ; for
they all were of opinion great Disputes would a-
rise, and that the King of the *Romans* had very great
Injury done him ; not only to take from him a
Person whom he thought was his Wife, but to
send back his Daugther who had been lawfully
married, and Queen of *France* for several Years
together. In short, a Peace was concluded ;
for every body was weary of War, especially
Duke *Philip's* Subjects, who had suffered so much
both by their Wars with the King, and their
Distractions and Divisions at home, that they
were not able to carry it on any longer. The
Peace was made only for four Years, to give
some Repose ; and *Maximilian's* Daughter was
to be sent back, tho' with some difficulty ; for
there were some Persons both about the King
and the Lady that strenuously oppos'd it. I was
at this Treaty my self with the rest of the Com-
missioners, who were, *Peter* Duke of *Bourbon*,
the Prince of *Orange*, the Lord *des Cordes*, and
several other Persons of Quality. It was con-
cluded, that all the King was possess'd of in the
Province of *Artois*, should be restor'd to Duke
Philip, according to the Agreement in the Treaty
of

of Marriage in 1492. and that if that was not A. D. accomplished, that then all the Lands which 1493. went in Dower with the Daughter, should be restored, either to her or Duke *Philip*. But the Arch-Duke's Subjects had already surpriz'd *Arras* and *St. Omers*, so that there remain'd nothing to be restored but *Hesdin*, *Aire*, and *Bethune*; the Revenue and Lordship of which Places were immediately delivered, and they put in what Officers they pleased, only the King was to remain in possession of the Castles for the Term of four Years, during which he might put what Garrisons he pleas'd into 'em; but at the End of four Years, which were to expire on *St. John's Day*, 1498. the King was oblig'd, both by Oath and Promise, to restore them to the Arch-Duke. Whether these Changes of Marriages were according to the Laws and Canons of the Church or not, I cannot resolve, and therefore shall leave it without any determination; for I find the Doctors divided about this Point, and as some have told me they were not lawful, so others have maintained that they were. Be it which way it will, the Ladies were all unfortunate in their Children. Our Queen had three Sons successively in four Years, but all of them died, tho' one lived to be three Years old. *Madam Margaret* of *Austria* was married to the Prince of *Castile*, only Son to the King and Queen of *Castile* and several other Kingdoms; which Prince died the first Year of his Marriage (which was in the Year 1487.) leaving his Princess with Child, and she miscarried of a Son not long after his Death, to the unspeakable Affliction of the King and Queen of *Castile*, and the whole Kingdom. Presently after these Changes, the King of the *Romans* married the

M Daughter

A. D.

1493.



Daughter of *Galeas* Duke of *Milan*, Sister to the above-mention'd Duke *John Galeas*, which Marriage was contracted by Count *Lodowick*, highly to the dissatisfaction of the Princes of the Empire, and several other of the King of the *Romans* Friends, who look'd upon the Lady as not of an Extraction illustrious enough for him. For as for the *Visconti*, from whom the present Dukes of *Milan* are descended, there is no great matter of Nobility among them, and less among the *Sforzi*; for the first of that House was Duke *Francis*, whose Father was a Shoo-maker in a little Town called *Cotignole*; but he was a Brave and Magnificent Person, and his Son was a greater; for he made himself Duke of *Milan* by the Assistance and Management of his Wife, (who was the natural Daughter of Duke *Philip Mary*) conquer'd it, and possess'd it, not as a Tyrant, but as a good and lawful Prince; being equal in Virtue and Goodness with most (and those of the best) Princes of his Time. Thus much I have written, that I might shew what has already been the Consequence of these Changes; nor can I tell what there is still remaining behind.

A

A Treaty of Peace between King Charles VIII. and Maximilian I. King of the Romans, and his Son Philip Arch-Duke of Austria, concluded at Senlis, May 23. 1493.

1. **A** Good Peace, firm Friendship, and perpetual Alliance, is and shall ever remain between the most Christian King, the Dauphin, their Kingdom, Territories and Subjects, and the King of the Romans, and Arch-Duke Philip his Son, as well in their own Name, as in the Name of the Lady Margaret of Austria, the said King's Daughter, and the Arch-Duke's Sister, for themselves, their Countries, Territories, Subjects, &c. laying aside all Malevolence, and forgetting all past Injuries.

2. Seeing the most Christian King, after his Marriage to the Queen, hath notify'd by his Ambassadors to the King of the Romans and the Arch-Duke, his Desire to send back the said Lady Margaret, and to have her conducted suitable to her Quality to any Place agreed on, and for this end had sent her as far as Amiens; he does still offer at his own Charge to conduct her suitable to her Quality from the Town of Meaux, where she now resides, before the 3d of June next, to St. Quintin, and to put her from thence forward into the Hands of the Ambassadors of the King of the Romans and the Arch-Duke.

3. Upon such a Delivery of the said Lady into the Hands of the Commissioners appointed by the King of the Romans and the Arch-Duke, the said Princes shall give proper Instruments to the King, freeing

A. D. him from all Obligations of Marriage with her, who
1493. shall also do the same by her.

4. The Most Christian King and the Arch-Duke reserve to themselves the Liberty of recovering any Rights in an amicable way, and by Course of Law, to such things as are not adjusted by this Peace.

5. The Counties of Burgundy, Artois and Charolois, and the Lordship of Noyers, with all their Appurtenances, shall be delivered up to the King of the Romans, as Guardian to his Son the Arch-Duke: And also the Towns and Castles of Hesdin, Aire and Bethune, now in the possession of the King of France, shall be deposited in the Hands of the Marechal de Querdes, who shall keep them without any Charge to the Arch-Duke, save the usual Profits taken by the Commanders of the said Places; and he shall take an Oath to the King and the Arch-Duke both, for the due Maintenance of their Rights, and shall keep no Guard therein, as may be prejudicial to either Party, who shall engage not to oblige him thereunto on either side; and if they do, he shall then be discharged of all his Oaths, till the Arch-Duke shall arrive at the Age of twenty, which will be on St. John Baptist's Eve in 1498.

6. The Arch-Duke, after he is of Age, having done Homage to the King in due Form, those Towns and Places shall be given up to him by the Marechal or others, who ought to do it, and have the Command therein.

7. The Officers shall continue in their Places, having Commissions from the Arch-Duke till he comes of Age and does Homage.

8. As to the City of Arras, its Revenue and Temporalities, it shall be deposited in the Hands of the Bishop and Chapter to whom it belongs, under the ordinary Jurisdiction of the Bailiwick of Amiens, in the usual manner; and as to the Captainship, which

is in the King's disposal, he shall be content to appoint the Person that now is, or shall be nominated by the Arch-Duke, till of Age, under the usual Obligations: but the City shall be entirely in the King's Power, when the Arch-Duke comes of Age. A. D. 1493.

9. *The Houses of Flanders, Artois, and Conflans, so called, in and near Paris, shall be delivered to the Arch-Duke.*

10. *The Arch-Duke shall not be obliged to do Homage till he is of Age; but the King shall at the same time enjoy his usual Rights and Prerogatives.*

11. *The Counties of Masconnois, Auxerrois, and Bar-sur-Seine, shall be enjoyed by the King, till the Pretensions of the Parties are decided.*

12. *What Rights the Arch-Duke pretends to have acquired by the Treaty of 1482. shall remain in Being, and the King shall be free to controvert the same.*

13. *The Ecclesiastical Preferments conferred by the King in Artois, Burgundy, Charolois and Noyers, shall remain as they are.*

14. *Free Commerce shall be restored both by Sea and Land, and on fresh Waters; paying the usual Customs as before the Breaking out of the War.*

15. *The Cities, Towns and Villages of Tournay, Tournesis, Mortagne St. Amand, &c. as the King's Subjects, are expressly comprehended in this Peace: So are the Allies of both Parties.*

16. *Cambray, the Cambresis, with all its Inhabitants, are by common Consent included in the Peace, and maintained in all their Rights under either Prince to whom they belong; and the Infractors on either side shall be punished by the Conservators of the Peace.*

17. *A general Act of Indemnity shall be granted by both Parties, upon the account of taking up Arms, &c. for the contrary side; no Process being ever to be formed against them; and those who have a mind to*

A. D. sue out a Pardon, it shall be freely granted them.

1492. 18. All Persons, as well Ecclesiasticks as Laicks, shall by this Peace return to the peaceable Possession of their Dignities, Benefices and Inheritances, wherever situated on either side, and be kept in the peaceable possession of the same; notwithstanding any Declarations, Confiscations, Sentences and Arrests to the contrary; and the Judges, Magistrates, &c. shall be obliged to be assisting herein.

19. Under this Article of returning to their Estates and Rights are comprehended the old Servants of the late Dukes Philip and Charles, who after the Death of Duke Charles stuck to the King, who by virtue of this Peace shall enjoy their Pensions assigned them in his Life-time, upon the Demesns of the Counties of Artois and Burgundy.

20. If any Inheritances have been sold for Contumacy, or on the account of personal Debts owing; the Debtors shall, within a Year after the proclaiming of the Peace, return to their Possessions, paying the said Debts, &c.

21. As to the Rents, Profits and Incomes of those Inheritances granted in a way of Reward, or the like, by either Party; all that has been done of that kind since 1470. to the present Peace, shall never be accounted for; but yet with an Exception to any Inheritances that in a due Course of Law have been adjudged to Creditors for Arrearages of Rents, which Arrearages have been given away or remitted; such Gifts or Releases shall not take place, but for such Arrearages as have escheated in time of War.

22. As to Moveables, which have not been made away, but are found upon the Premises, which the Subjects of either Party shall return to, and the Debts and Arrearages that have not been given away, nor adjudged by Law, they shall belong to the said Subjects, and not to those who shall have a general List of their Moveables.

23. The

23. *The Enjoyments of the Dignities, Benefices, A. D. Inheritances, &c. by the Subjects of either Party, shall not oblige them to reside where they are; neither are they by that bound to take an Oath to the Prince in whose Dominions they are, unless they are Fiefs and their Vassals.* 1493.

24. *Those who shall return to their Estates by virtue of this Peace, shall not be prosecuted for Rent-Charges escheated during the War; and those Lands which lay waste and uncultivated during the War, shall be liable to the Payment of no Rents.*

25. *No Reprisals shall be made after the Peace, upon the account of Damages sustained by the Subjects of either Party; nor any Letters of Mart, Contramart, or the like granted.*

26. *By this Peace all the People of Arras of whatever Condition, that have absented themselves since the Surprise of that City, where-ever they are, are free to return, and traffick there, notwithstanding any Promises or otherwise to the contrary: And whether they do return or not, they shall as much as any of the other Subjects enjoy their Estates, Rights, Benefices, Moveables and Utensils yet in Being, without any Molestation whatsoever.*

27. *In like manner the People of St. Omer, of what Calling or Quality soever, who resided therein while it was neuter, and afterwards by reason of the taking and retaking it, absented themselves from it, shall notwithstanding any Interdiction or Sentence against them, return, and enjoy their Estates, Benefices, &c. without any manner of Molestation: And all Offences and Injuries shall be entirely remitted.*

28. *The Lady Margaret, Widow of Charles late Duke of Burgundy, is comprehended in this Treaty: The King consenting she shall enjoy the Lands and Seignories of Chauchnis and la Perrière, with all their Appurtenances in the Viscounty of Auxonne, in the*

A. D. 1493. *same manner as the late Dutchess Isabella, the Mother of Duke Charles enjoy'd them, upon the Payment of 20000 Crowns in Gold.*

29. *The Most Christian King names for his Allies, his Imperial Majesty, the Kings of Castile, England, Scotland, Hungary, Bohemia, and Navarre, the Duke of Bavaria, the Count Palatine, and all the Dukes and Branches of the House of Bavaria, the Electors of the Holy Empire, the Duke and House of Savoy, the Duke and House of Milan, the Doge and Republick of Venice, the Duke of Lorain, the Duke of Guelderland, the Marquess and House of Montferrat, the Bishop and City of Liege, the Swiss Cantons, the Commonwealths of Florence and Genoa: And on the part of the said King of the Romans and Arch-Duke, his Most Sacred Imperial Majesty, the Kings of Castile, Hungary, Portugal, Denmark, England and Scotland, the Electors of the Holy Roman Empire, as the King of Bohemia and others, the Marquess and House of Montferrat, the Bishop and City of Liege, and all the Princes of the Empire, the Swiss Cantons, Cities and Communities of the Empire are comprehended.*

30. *In this Peace are also comprehended the King's Counsellor William de Harancourt, Bishop and Count of Verdun, as well in his own Person, as for his Bishoprick and County of Verdun, Lordships, Subjects, &c. So are also, by the Consent of the said Princes, the Arch-bishop, and even all the Inhabitants of Briançon.*

31. *The respective Parties oblige themselves in the most solemn manner to the Observance of this Treaty; so they do also their Subjects, Vassals, &c.*

32. *Any Contravention which may happen of this Treaty on either side, shall be repaired at farthest in the space of six Weeks.*

33. *For*

33. *For the greater Confirmation of this Peace, A. D. 1493.*
the King of France will procure to the King of the Romans and the Arch-Duke the Instruments and Seals of the Dukes of Orleans, Bourbon, Nemours, the Counts of Angoulesme, Montpensier and Vendosme; of the Prince of Orange, of the Mareschals and Admirals of France; and of the Cities, Towns and Communities of Paris, Rouen, Lyons, Poitiers, Tovers, Angers, Orleans, Amiens, and Tournay: And the King of the Romans and Arch-Duke engage to procure those of the Dukes of Saxony, Marquess of Baden, Monsieur de Ravestein, Counts of Nassau and of Zollern, Prince of Chimay, of Messieurs de Bevres, Egmont, Fiennes, Chievres, Walhain, Molembais, du Fay, Fresnoy, Great Bailiff of Hainault, of the Town and Communities of Louvain, Brussels, Antwerp, Boilleduc, Ghent, Bruges, Lille, Doway, Arras, St. Omer, Mons, Valenciennes, Dort, Middleburg and Namur. And whoever shall contravene this Treaty, without Reparation made in six Weeks, these Guarantees are then obliged to leave the Contravener, and give Assistance to the injured Party, and be discharged of their Oaths.

34. *The Instruments on both sides shall be register'd and verified in the most regular and authentick manner.*

35. *The Conservators of this Peace for the Marches on the side of the Country of Burgundy, on the King's part, are, the Prince of Orange, M. de Baudricourt Governour of Burgundy, and the Bailiffs of Dijon, Chaalons, Anthun and Mascon, or their Lieutenants: For the Marches of Champaign and Rhetelois, M. de Orvat Governor of Champaign, the Bailiffs of St. Peter le Monstier, Troyes and Vitri, or their Lieutenants; and for the Marches of Picardy, the Mareschal des Querdes, the Bailiffs of*

A. D. 1493. of Amiens and Vermandois, the Seneschals of Pontieu, Boulonois, and the Governours of Mondidier and Roye, or their Lieutenants; and for the Sea, the Admirals, &c. The Conservators on the King of the Romans and the Arch-Duke's part, for the Marches of Flanders and Artois, are, M. de Nassau, with the Governours of Lisle, Arras, and the Bailiffs of the said Countries respectively; for the Marches of Hainault, the Princes of Chimay, and the Grand Bailiff of Hainault; for Luxemburg, the Marquess of Baden; for Burgundy, the Governour of the County of Burgundy, and the Bailiffs of Damont, Daval, and Dole; and for the Sea, Monsieur de Breves, Admiral, &c.

36. No manner of Protection or Shelter shall be given to Vagrants, Thieves and Robbers on either side; but they shall be banished, or otherwise brought to condign Punishment where-ever they are found.

37. The same thing is to be done in respect to Rovers, or Pirates by Sea.

38. Neither Party shall receive or support those who shall any way contravene this Peace; but they shall be punished for the Infractions they make; but the Peace at the same time shall not be violated.

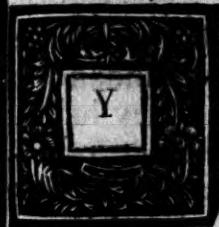
39. The said Princes and their Officers shall assist one another against all those who shall delay or refuse to keep this Peace; and they shall on both sides be taken for Common Enemies; and those who shall any way assist or favour them, shall in like manner be answerable for the Mischiefs done by them, and be punished as Violators of the Peace.

C H A P. IV.

A. D.

1493.

Of the King's sending to the Venetians, in order to induce them to enter into an Alliance with him, before his undertaking his Expedition to Naples, and of the Preparation in order to it.



YOU have already been inform'd *A very* of the Count *di Cajazzo's* and o- *wife and* ther Ambassadors taking their *politick* Leave of the King at *Paris*; of *Answer of* the several secret Negotiations *the Vene-* tians, that were carried on in *Italy*;

and how the Heart of our King (tho' very young) was strangely bent upon this Expedition; which however he discover'd to no Body but the two Persons above-mention'd. His Request to the *Venetians*, was, that they would give him their Assistance and Council in this Expedition; and they return'd this Answer: That he should be very welcome in *Italy*, but that they were wholly incapable of assisting him, upon account of their continual Apprehensions of the *Turk* (tho' at that time they were at Peace with him;) and to undertake to advise so wise a King, who had so grave a Council, would favour of too much Presumption; but they would rather assist than disturb him in his Designs. This they believ'd a very discreet Answer, and truly so it was; and I am of opinion that their Affairs are manag'd with more Prudence and Discretion at this Day, than any Princes or States in the World: but God will still have us know, that the Wisdom and Policy of Man is of

no

A. D. 1493. no force, where he pleases to interpose; for he orders things many times quite otherwise than they were expected. The *Venetians* did not imagine that the King would come in Person, and (whatever they pretended) they had no Apprehension of the *Turk*; for the *Turk* who then reigned was a Man of no Courage nor Activity: But their Design was to be reveng'd of the House of *Arragon*, both Father and Son, for whom they had a mortal Hatred, because (as they said) it was at their Instigation that the *Turks* fell upon them at *Scutari*: I mean the Father of this (b) *Turk*, called *Mahomet*, who did abundance of Mischief besides, to the *Venetians*. They had several Complaints against *Alphonso* Duke of *Calabria*, and among the rest, that he had been the Occasion of the War which the Duke of *Ferrara* made upon them, which was very expensive, and had like to have prov'd their Ruin. They complain'd also that he had sent a Man to *Venice* to poyson their Cisterns, at least such as he could come at; for some are kept under Lock and Key. In that City they use little other Water; (for they are wholly surrounded by the Sea) but that Water is very good, and I drank of it eight Months together in my first Embassy thither (for I was there since.) But these were not the true Reasons of their Animosity to the House of *Arragon*; the real Occasion was, because the Father and Son restrain'd them, and kept them from extending their Conquests both in *Italy* and *Greece*; for their Eyes were upon them on every side, and yet without any Title

(b) *Bajazet* II. Son of *Mahomet*, who succeeded his Father in 1481, and died in 1512.

or Pretence they had lately subdued (c) the Kingdom of *Cyprus*. Upon these Considerations the *Venetians* thought it highly for their Advantage, that a War should be begun between our King, and the House of *Arragon*; hoping it would not have been brought to a Conclusion so soon as it was, and that it would or ly weaken the Power of their Enemies, and not utterly destroy 'em: and then (let what would happen) one Side or other would give them Towns in *Apuglia* (which borders upon their Gulf) for their Assistance; and so it happen'd, but they had like to have been mistaken in their Reckoning. Besides, they thought to have transacted Affairs so secretly, that no body could have accus'd them of inviting our King into *Italy*, since they had neither given him Council nor Assistance, as appear'd to the World by their Answer to *Peron de Basche*.

A. D.

1493.

In the Year (d) 1494. the King advanced to *Lyons*, to examine into his Affairs; but no Body ever imagin'd he would have passed the Mountains himself. He was met there by the Lord *Galeas di St. Severino*, Brother to the Count *di Cajazzo*, with a numerous Retinue, on the part of Count *Lodowick*, whose Lieutenant and Chief Minister he was. He brought him Arms, and abundance of fine Horses dress'd on purpose for a Turnament: He tilted very well himself, was young, and a fine Gentleman; and the King used him according to his Merit, entertain'd him with a great deal of Honour, and made him

A. D.

1494.

(c) The *Venetians* conquer'd the Kingdom of *Cyprus* in the Year 1473. which was taken from them by *Selim II.* Emperor of the *Turks*, in 1571.

(d) Some Authors lay 'twas in the Year 1493.

A. D. 1494. a Knight of his own Order ; after which he return'd into *Italy*, but the Count *de Bellejoyeuse* staid with the King to promote his Expedition. By this time a great Fleet was preparing at *Genoa*, where the Lord *d'Urse* Master of the Horse, and several others, were negotiating the King's Affairs. At length, about the beginning of *August* that Year, the King removed to *Vienna* in *Dauphiné*, and the Nobility of *Genoa* resorted to him daily. The King also sent to *Genoa* at that time *Lewis* (e) Duke of *Orleans*, now King of *France*, a young Prince, and very handsom, but much addicted to his Pleasures. It was the Opinion of every Body at that time, that he was to command the Army in chief ; and that it was to have been embark'd and landed in the Kingdom of *Naples*, by the Assistance and Direction of the Princes of *Salerno* and *Bisignano*, whom we have mention'd before. They had gotten fourteen great Ships, besides several Gallies and Galeons, ready at *Genoa* ; and the King was as much obey'd in those Parts as at *Paris*, for the City belong'd to the State of *Milan*, where Count *Lodowick* govern'd, without any Competitor but the Duke his Nephew's Wife, Daughter to King *Alphonso* (for at that time his Father King *Ferrand* was dead :) But the poor Lady had no great Power, since the King's Army was ready to march, and her Husband a weak Prince, and discover'd whatever she said, to her Uncle, who had already caused a Messenger to be drown'd that she had sent to her Father.

(e) *Lewis* Duke of *Orleans*, Brother-in-law to *Charles* VIII. afterwards XII. King of *France*.

The equipping of this Fleet was very expensive, and I believe cost no less than Three Hundred Thousand Franks, which quite exhausted the King's Treasury; and yet did him no great Service after all this Expence, for as I observed before, neither his Exchequer, his Understanding, nor his Preparations were sufficient for such an important Enterprize; and yet by the meer Favour of Providence he succeeded in it, which was visibly manifest to all the World. I do not say that the King wanted Wisdom, considering his Age; but he was but two and twenty Years old, and not as yet capable of understanding State-Affairs. Those who were the chief Managers of this Affair (I mean *Stephen de Vers Senechal* of *Beaucaire*, and *Monsieur Brissonet*, at present Cardinal of *St. Malo*) were two Persons of indifferent Fortunes, and less Experience, which made the Power of God more conspicuous; for our Enemies were reputed Wise, Warlike, and Rich, well furnished with Councillors and Officers, and in possession of the whole Kingdom: I speak of *Alphonso* of *Arragon* (newly crown'd by Pope *Alexander*) who was in Amity both with the *Florentines* and the *Türk*. King *Alphonso* had a Son called *Don Ferrand*, a hopeful Gentleman of about two or three and twenty Year old, perform'd his Exercises very well, and was extremely belov'd in that Kingdom; and a Brother called *Don Frederick* (who was King after the Death of *Ferrand*) a Wise Prince, and Admiral of their Fleet, who was educated a long time on this side the Mountains, and one that you, my Lord of *Vienna*, have often (by your Skill in Astrology) assured me would be King; and he promised me (upon my telling

A. D.

1494.

A. D. telling him of it) a Pension of 4000 Livres, if it
1494. prov'd true, as it did twenty Years afterwards.

The general Opinion of King Charles's Expedition to Naples. But to proceed. The King chang'd his Resolution, being prevail'd upon by the Duke of Milan's Letters, the Importunity of *Charles de Bellejoyeuse* his Ambassador, and his two Ministers above-mention'd; but by degrees *Brissonet's* Courage began to fail him, finding that all sober and rational Persons condemn'd the Expedition, as beginning in *August*, without Money, and every thing else that was necessary to carry it on. So that the Seneschal was the only Man that was consulted; for the King look'd fowr upon Monsieur *Brissonet* for three or four Days, but he was reconcil'd to him afterwards. About this time one of the Seneschal's Servants died of the Plague, and he durst not appear at Court; which was a great Mortification to him, for there was no Body else to carry on the Design. The Duke and Dutcheß of *Bourbon* were with the King, and us'd all their Interest to hinder this Expedition, and Monsieur *Brissonet* did the same; so that one day it was laid aside, and the other reviv'd. At last the King resolved to march, and thinking to pass the Mountains more commodiously in small Bodies, I mounted on Horse-back, and advanced before; but was countermanded, and assured that Design was given over. The same Day fifty thousand Ducats were taken up of a Merchant of *Milan*, but the Count *Lodowick* was Security to the Merchant. I was engaged for six thousand of that Sum, and others for the rest; but it was borrow'd without Interest. Before that, we had borrowed of the Bank of *Soly* in *Genoa*, a hundred thousand Franks, the Interest of which in four Months amounted to

14000

14000 Franks; but some People said the Persons A. D.
above-mention'd kept part of the Money for 1494.
their own private Use.

C H A P. V.

*Of King Charles's setting out from Vienna
in Dauphinè to conquer Naples in Person;
and the Action that was performed by his
Fleet under the Command of the Duke of
Orleans.*

IN short, the King, on the three Charles
and twentieth of August, 1494. VIII. for-
set out from Vienna in Dauphinè ced to bor-
towards Asti. At Suza the Lord row Jew-
Galeas di St. Severino came Post els of Se-
meet his Majesty, who advanc'd veral Prin-
cesses to
from thence to Turin, where he borrow'd the carry on
Jewels of Madam de Savoy, Daughter of the late the War
William Marquis of Monferrat, and Widow to in Italy.
Charles Duke of Savoy: Having pawn'd them
for twelve thousand Ducats, he removed a few
Days after to Casale to the Marchioness of Mont-
ferrat, Widow of the late Marquis of Monferrat, a
young and prudent Lady, and Daughter to the
King of Servia. The Turk having over-run her
Country, the Emperor (in respect of the Rela-
tion betwixt them) took care of her, and mar-
ried her there. She also lent the King her Jewels,
and they were engag'd as the other for twelve
thousand Ducats; by which you may see what a
prosperous Beginning there was of this War, had
not God himself interpos'd. The King conti-
nu'd at Asti for some time. The Wives in Italy
N were

A. D. 1494. were sown this Year ; and therefore not at all agreeable to the *French*, no more than the excessive Heat of the Air. Count *Lodowick* and his Lady came with a numerous Retinue to wait on his Majesty ; they staid there two Days, and then removed to a Castle call'd *Non*, about a League from *Asti*, belonging to the Dutchy of *Milan*, to which Place the King's Council resorted to him daily.

King *Alphonso* had two Armies in the Field, one in *Romania* towards *Ferrara* under the Command of his Son ; who was attended by the Lord *Virgil Ursin*, the Count *de Petilhane*, and the Count *John James di Trivulce*, who at this time are in our Interest. To face this Body of Forces, there was the Lord *d' Aubigny* on the King's side, a wise Man, and a Brave Officer, and with him about 200 *French* Men at Arms, and 500 *Italians* in the King's Service, commanded by the Count *di Cajazzo* above-mention'd, as an Officer under Count *Lodowick*. They were in great pain for this Brigade ; for if they had been defeated, we should have retired, and have left Count *Lodowick* to shift for himself ; and the Enemy had a strong Party in the Dutchy of *Milan*.

The other Army, which was commanded by *Don Frederick*, *Alphonso's* Brother, was at Sea ; and the Fleet that had this Body of Forces on Board, lay at *Pisa* and *Legborne* (for the *Florentines* espous'd their Interest) and with it a certain Number of Gallies commanded by (a) *Breto di Flisco*, and other Officers of *Genoa*, by whose Assistance they were in hopes of making themselves Masters of that City ; and they miss'd it

(a) *Obletto*, according to the *Annals* of *Genoa*.

but narrowly. They landed some thousands of Men at *Specie* and *Rapalo*, and had they not met with a timely Opposition, 'tis probable they had carried their Point; but that very Day or the next the Duke of *Orleans* arriv'd there with some Ships, a good Number of Gallies, and one great Galeass which was mine, and commanded by *Albert Maly*. The Duke and chief Persons in that Army were on board my Galeass, with several great Pieces of Cannon (for she was very strong;) and getting as near the Shore as possible, they canonaded the Enemy so briskly with their Great Guns (which till that time were unknown in *Italy*) that they beat them from their Post, landed what Soldiers they had in the Ships; and from *Genoa* by Land (where the whole Army lay) there came to them a considerable Body of *Swiss*, commanded by the (b) Bailiff of *Dijon*. There were other Reinforcements also sent from the Duke of *Milan*, under the Command of the Lord *John Lewis di Flisco*, Brother to the above-mention'd *Breto*, and the Lord *John Adorni*; these were not in the Engagement, yet they did their Duty, and maintain'd several Passes with a great deal of Courage and Resolution. In short, by the Strength of these Reinforcements our Army attack'd and utterly defeated the Enemy, of whom about a hundred or sixscore were killed in the Pursuit, and about eight or ten taken Prisoners, among whom there was one (c) Signior *Fregosa*, Son to the Cardinal of *Genoa*. Those who

(b) *Anthony de Bessey* Baron of *Trichastel*, Son of *John de Bessey* and *Joan de Saulx*, mention'd afterwards, Book VIII. Chap. 6, and 8.

(c) *John Fregosa* natural Son of *Paul Fregosa*, Cardinal, Arch-Bishop, and Duke of *Genoa*. See Book VII. Chap. V.

A. D. 1494. were taken were stript by the Duke of *Milan's* Soldiers, and dismiss'd; for in *Italy* that is the Law of Arms. I had a sight of all Letters which brought an Account of this Victory to the King and the Duke of *Milan*: And after this manner was the Army defeated, and never afterwards durst approach us. Upon our Return to *Genoa* the Citizens began to rise up in Arms, and slew several *Germans* that were in the City; but the Tumult was soon appeas'd, after some of the Ring-leaders of the Insurrection were kill'd.

Something must be said of the *Florentines*, who sent two Embassies to the King of *France* before his setting out upon this Expedition; but their Design was only to wheedle and amuse him. The first time the Seneschal, Monsieur *Brissonet*, and my self, were deputed to treat with their Ambassadors, who were the Bishop of *Arezzo*, and one *Peter Soderini*. Our Demands were only to grant us Passage for our Troops, and a Hundred Men at Arms to be paid by them after the *Italian* Establishment, (which is but ten thousand Ducats a Month.) The Ambassadors reply'd according to the Instructions that were given them by *Peter de Medicis*, a young Man of no extraordinary Parts, Son of *Laurence de Medicis* lately deceased, who had been one of the wisest Men of his Time, govern'd the City almost as a Prince, and left it in the same Condition to his Son. Their Family had been of about two Generations, *Laurence* the Father of this *Peter*, and *Cosmo* who founded it, and was worthily to be reckon'd among the chief of that Age: Considering their Profession (which was Merchandizing) I think this Family was the greatest in the World; for their Factors and Agents had so much Reputation upon their account, that 'tis scarce

The great
Riches and
Reputati-
on of the
Family of
the Medi-
cis in Flo-
rence.

scarce credible. I have seen the Effect of it in *England and Flanders*: I saw one *Gerard Quanneve* who kept King *Edward* upon his Throne, almost upon his own Credit, during the time of the Civil Wars in that Kingdom; for he furnish'd the King at different times with sixscore thousand Crowns, but not at all to his Master's Advantage, tho' at length he got it again. I knew also another, one *Thomas Portunay*, who was Security between King *Edward* and *Charles Duke of Burgundy*, for five hundred thousand Crowns, and another time for eighty thousand. I cannot commend Merchants for doing so; but it is highly commendable in a Prince to be punctual with them, and keep his Promise exactly; for he knows not how soon he may want their Assistance; and certainly a little Money at some critical Juncture of Affairs does Wonders.

A. D.

1494.

This Family of the *Medicis* was look'd upon to be in a declining Condition (as illustrious Houses will decay in all Kingdoms and Governments) for the Authority of his Predecessors was a great Prejudice to *Peter*; tho' indeed *Cosmo*, the first of it, was mild and gentle in his Administration, and behav'd himself as he ought to do in a free Government. *Laurence*, the Father of *Peter* (of whom we are now speaking) upon occasion of the Difference betwixt him and the *Pisans* above-mentioned (in which several of them were hang'd) had a Guard of twenty Soldiers assign'd him, for the Security of his Person, by an Order from the Senate, which at that time acted nothing without his Direction and Approbation. However, he govern'd very moderately; for (as I said before) he was a wise Man; but his Son *Peter* thought it his due, and employed his Guards to the Terror and Vexation

A. D. 1494. of his People, committing great Injuries and Insolencies by them in the Night, and invading the common Treasure, which his Father had done too before him, but manag'd it so prudently, that the People were almost satisfied with his Proceedings.

The second time *Peter* sent as his Ambassadors to *Lions*, *Peter Caponi*, and others, excusing himself as he had done before, that King *Lewis XI.* had commanded the *Florentines* to make Peace with King *Ferrand* in the time of *John Duke of Anjou*, and to forsake the Alliance of the Duke; alledging, that since it was by Command of the late King of *France* that they had entred into an Alliance with the House of *Aragon*, and the Term of the said Alliance not being to expire for some Years, they could not in Justice desert it: However, if his Majesty enter'd their Territories, they would rather assist than oppose him; but they thought no more of his coming in Person than the *Venetians* did. In both these Embassies there was some Body still who was an Enemy to the *Medicis*, and at this time more particularly *Peter Caponi*, who often inform'd us what Measures were to be taken in order to make the City of *Florence* revolt from *Peter de Medicis*, traducing him more sharply than he really deserv'd: He advis'd the King to banish all *Florentines* out of our Kingdom, and so he did. I mention this Particular, that you may more easily understand the Sequel of these Memoirs; for the King had conceiv'd a great Enmity against *Peter de Medicis*; and the Seneschal and Monsieur *Brissone* held great Intelligence with his Enemies in the City, especially with this *Caponi*, and with two of *Peter's* Cousin Germans of his own Name.

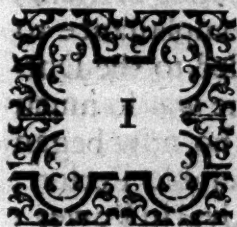
The Florentines banish'd France.

A. D.

1494.

CHAP. VI.

Of the King's Resolution at Asti to go in Person into the Kingdom of Naples, by the Persuasion and Advice of Lodowick Sforza : Of Philip de Comines's being sent in an Embassy to Venice : Of the Duke of Milan's Death, and of Count Lodowick's making himself Duke in prejudice of a Son of the late Duke of Milan.



I Have given an Account of the Engagement at Rapallo by Sea: Don Frederick (upon this Defeat) retir'd to Pisa, and Leghorne, without staying for the Forces which he had put on shore; at which the Florentines were highly disgusted, as being always in their own Minds more inclinable to favour the French than the House of Arragon: And our Army in Romania, tho' the weaker of the two, yet it had better Fortune than the other, and forc'd the Duke of Calabria to give ground by degrees; which the King observing, he took a Resolution to march forward, being solicited to do it by Count Lodowick, and others whom I have mentioned before; and at his Arrival Count Lodowick saluted him after this manner.

Sir, do not fear the Success of this Enterprize in the least; Italy consists but of Three Estates that are considerable: Milan, which is one of them, is yours already; the Venetians are neutral, and you will have to do only with Naples. When we were united, and join'd together in a mutual Alliance, several of

A. D. your Predecessors have been too powerful for us. If
 1494. you would be rul'd by me, I would assist in making
 you greater than Charlemagne; for when you have
 conquer'd the Kingdom of Naples, we will easily
 drive this Turk out of the Empire of Constantino-
 ple. If he meant it of the Turk who now reigns,
 it was likely enough; but Affairs on our side
 must have been manag'd more wisely. Upon
 this the King began to be wholly govern'd by
 Count Lodowick, which highly displeas'd some
 of our Courtiers, among whom there was one
 of the Gentlemen of the Bed-chamber, and I
 know not who besides; but their Resentment
 was to no purpose, no Body took notice of them;
 for what they did, was but in complaisance to
 the Duke of Orleans, who pretended to the Dur-
 chy of Milan. But above all, none was so much
 disgusted as Monsieur Brissonet, who now began
 to look upon himself as a considerable Person,
 and was become the Seneschal's Rival in Power;
 and Lodowick having propos'd to the King and
 the Seneschal to leave him behind, he was
 highly incens'd against the Count, talk'd
 bitterly against him, and endeavour'd to pos-
 sess all People that he would leave them in the
 lurch. It had been more Wisdom in him to have
 been silent; but he was never employ'd in, nor
 indeed fit for any Affairs of State; for he had
 not the Command of his Tongue by any means,
 tho' otherwise he was very well affected to his
 Master. The Conclusion of all was, that sever-
 al Ambassadors should be sent, and I among
 the rest to Venice. I put off my Journey for some
 Days, because the King was fallen sick of the
 Small Pox, and being taken with a high Fever
 besides, was thought to be in danger; but it
 lasted not above five or six Days, so that I
 resolv'd

Philip de
 Comines
 sent in an
 Embassy by
 Charles
 VIII. to
 Venice.

resolv'd upon my Journey, and left the King at *Asti*, not suspecting in the least, that he would have proceeded any farther. In six Days time, I arriv'd, with my Mules and Train, all safe at *Venice*; for the Way was extream good. I was very unwilling to depart, as fearing the King would have gone back; but God had otherwise appointed. The King march'd directly for *Pavia* by the way of *Casale*, where he visited the Marchioness of *Montferrat*, a Lady much in our Interest, but a great Enemy to Count *Lodowick*, and he as much to her. The King was no sooner at *Pavia*, but Jealousies began to arise; they would have had the King to lodge in the Town, and not in the Castle; but nothing would serve his turn but the Castle, and lie there he did, and his Guards were doubled; and not without cause, for as some told me since, who were then with him, he was in manifest Danger. Count *Lodowick* was much surpris'd at it, and question'd the King about it, whether he was suspicious of him. In short, things were so carried on both sides, that the Amity was not like to last long: But our People were the most indiscreet in their Language; not the King, but some of his nearest Relations. In this Castle of *Pavia* there was at that time *John Galeas* Duke of *Milan* (whom I have mention'd before) and his Dutcheß, the Daughter of King *Alphonso*. The Dutcheß look'd very melancholy; for her Husband was dangerously sick, and kept in that Castle under a kind of Restraint, with her self, her Son, and one or two of her Daughters: Her Son is still living, and was then about five Years of Age. No Body might see the Duke, but any one might see the Child. I pass'd that way three Days before the King,

A. D.

1494.

A. D. 1494. King, but was inform'd of the Duke's Illness, and of his not being willing to give me Leave to pay my Respects to him; however, the King was permitted to visit him when he came, for he was his Cousin German. His Majesty told me since, the Subject of their Discourse was only in general Terms, for he was unwilling to disoblige Count *Lodowick* in any thing: Yet he had a great Mind (as he said) to have given him Notice of the Designs against him. At the same time the Dutchess threw herself at Count *Lodowick's* Feet, and begg'd of him to have Compassion on her Father and Brother; he replied it was not in his Power; but she had more Reason to have petition'd for her Husband and herself; for she was young and very beautiful.

From thence the King marched to *Placenza*, where Count *Lodowick* was inform'd that his Nephew the Duke of *Milan* lay a dying; he took his Leave of the King, and being press'd to return, he promis'd it faithfully. Before he reach'd *Pavia*, the Duke was dead; upon which he went Post immediately to *Milan*; this I saw in a Letter which the *Venetian* Ambassador that was with him wrote to *Venice*, assuring the Senate of his Designs to make himself Duke. 'Tis certain both Duke of *Venice* and Senate were much against it, and ask'd me if my Master would not espouse the young Duke's Interest? Tho' the thing was but reasonable; yet knowing how necessary the Count's Interest and Assistance were to the carrying on our Designs, my Answer was in doubtful Terms. In short, he made himself Duke of *Milan*, and (as many affirm'd) that was his Design of inviting and drawing us into *Italy*. He was charg'd also with the Death of his Nephew, whose Friends and Re-

Relations put themselves into a Condition to A. D. 1494.
 have wrested the Government out of his Hands, and they might easily have done it, had it not been for his Alliance with our King; for they had already assembled their Forces in *Romania*, as you have heard, but the Count *di Cajazzo*, and Monsieur *d' Aubigny* made them retire; for Monsieur *d' Aubigny*, with about a hundred and fifty or two hundred French-men at Arms, and a good Body of *Swissers*, advancing upon them, Don *Ferrand* and the rest retreated towards their Friends, decamping still about half a Day before us, towards (a) *Forli*, which belong'd to a Lady that was a Bastard of the House of *Milan*, and Widow of Count *Hieronimo*, Nephew to Pope *Sixtus*. It was reported, that she favour'd their Party, but our Men having batter'd a small Town of hers for some time, they took it by storm; upon which, (and the Inclination she had to us before) she came over to our side. The People of *Italy* began generally to assume new Courage, and be desirous of Novelty; for they saw that which they had never seen before, and that was the Use of great Guns, which tho' frequent in *France*, was not till then known in *Italy*. Don *Ferrand* retreated towards his own Kingdom, and marched for *Cesenna*, a City of the Pope's, in the Marquisate of *Ancona*; but the People stripp'd and plunder'd all the Stragglers they could meet with; for they were dispos'd all over *Italy* to revolt, had things been manag'd wisely on our part, without Violence and Plunder. But all was done quite contrary, at which

(a) 'Twas anciently call'd *Forum Livii*, according to the Description of old *Italy*.

A. D. 1494. I was extremely concern'd; for by this ungenerous Way of Proceeding we lost all the Honour and Renown that the *French* Nation might otherwise have gain'd in that Expedition. At our first Entrance into *Italy* we were ador'd like Saints, and every body thought us People of the greatest Goodness and Sincerity in the World; but that Opinion lasted not long, our own Disorders, and the Clamours and false Reports of our Enemies quickly convinc'd them of the contrary, for they accus'd us where-ever they came with all imaginable Rapacity, plundering and robbing their Houses, and ravishing their Wives and Daughters when-ever they fell into our hands. Nor could they have invented any thing to have render'd us more odious; for they are the most jealous and avaricious People in *Italy*, of any in *Europe*. As to our ravishing of the Women, they wrong'd us, but for the rest there was too much Truth in it.

The
Italians
more jea-
lous and
covetous
than other
Nations.

C H A P. VII.

A. D.

1494.

Of Peter de Medicis's putting four of his strongest Garrisons into the King's Possession; and of his Restoring Pisa, (which was one of them) to its ancient Liberty.

THE King (as you have heard) was at (a) Placenza, where he order'd a solemn Funeral for his Cousin German the Duke of Milan; and indeed he knew not how else to spend his time, since Count Lodowick the new Duke had left him. Those who had an Opportunity of being well acquainted with these Affairs have told me, that the whole Army understanding how ill they were provided with every thing necessary for such an Expedition, had a great Inclination to have return'd; and that those who were the chief Promoters of it at first began now to condemn it, as the Lord d'Urse, Master of the Horse, (tho' at that time sick at Genoa) for he wrote a Letter upon some Intelligence that he pretended to receive, which encreas'd and heighten'd their former Fears and Apprehensions, but God (as I said before) conducted this Enterprize; for the King had receiv'd the unexpected News, that the new Duke of Milan was upon his Return, and that the Florentines were dispos'd to an Alliance with us, in Opposition to Peter de Medicis, who play'd the Tyrant among them, to the great Dissatisfaction of his nearest Relations, and se-

Charles
VIII.
makes a
sumptuous
Funeral
for the
Duke of
Milan.

Providence
the Mana-
ger of this
Expediti-
on into I-
taly.

(a) A neat, populous and pleasant City in the Duke-
dom of Parma, situated upon the Po.

A. D. 1494. veral other considerable Families in that City, as the *Caponi*, the *Soderini*, the *Nerli*, and almost the whole Town : upon which the King left *Placenza*, and march'd towards the Territories of the *Florentines* to force them to declare for him, or to seize upon their Towns, which were but in an ill Posture of Defence, and take up his Winter-Quarters in them, which was already begun. Several small Places received him very readily, and among the rest *Lucca*, which at that time was at War with *Florence* ; the Duke of *Milan* had always advis'd the King to take up his Quarters in those Parts, and advance no farther that Winter, in hopes by the King's Interest and Favour to get into his own Possession *Pisa*, (a strong and fair City) *Serzana* and *Pietro Saneto* ; for the two last had belong'd lately to *Genoa*, and had been taken from them by the *Florentines*, in the time of *Laurence de Medicis*.

The King march'd by *Pontremolo*, which belongs to the Dutchy of *Milan*, and besieg'd *Serzana*, the strongest Castle the *Florentines* had ; but ill provided by reason of their Divisions, and to say true, the *Florentines* never fight willingly against the *French*, for they have been always faithful and serviceable to them in respect of their Trade and Interest in that Kingdom ; as also upon account of being (b) *Guelphs*. Had *Serzana* been furnish'd as it ought to have been, the King's Army had certainly been ruin'd in besieging it ; for the Country is mountainous,

(b) The *Guelphs* and the *Gibelines* were two Factions that begun in *Italy* in the Reign of the Emperor *Frederick II*. The former espous'd the Pope's Interest, and the latter the Emperor's, in the Year 1240.

and barren, full of Snow, and not able to supply us with Provisions; the King lay before it but three Days, and the Duke of *Milan* came to him before any Composition. Having passed thro' *Pontremolo*, the Citizens and Garrison fell out with our *Germans*, (which were commanded by one *Buffer*) and in the Dispute some of our *Germans* were slain. I was not present at this Action my self; but I have been inform'd of it both by the King, the Duke, and several others that were there; and this Accident produc'd great Inconveniencies, as you'll know hereafter. Our Affairs went smoothly on at *Florence*, and were brought to that height, that fifteen or sixteen Persons were deputed to attend the King; the Citizens publicly declaring they would not expose themselves to the Displeasure of the King and the Duke of *Milan*, who had a Resident in *Florence*, and *Peter de Medicis* was forc'd to concur; for as Matters then stood, he knew not how to avoid it, and to have done otherwise would have ruin'd them, considering how ill they were both provided and disciplin'd. Upon their Ambassadors Arrival, they offer'd to receive the King into *Florence*, and what other Places his Majesty pleas'd; the Designs of most of them being fixt upon his Journey to *Florence*, which they thought would conduce to the Expulsion of *Peter de Medicis*; and they press'd it very earnestly by the Friends they had gain'd about the Court, whom I have often mention'd before.

On the other hand, *Peter de Medicis* manag'd his Affairs as diligently, by one *Laurence Spinoli*, his Factor, who govern'd his Bank at *Lions*, was a Man of Integrity, and had liv'd a considerable time in *France*; but could not get Intelligence

A. D.

1494.

A. D. 1494. gence of the secret Affairs of our Court ; nor indeed could they who liv'd constantly in it depend upon any thing, their Counsels were so various : however, *Spinoli* practis'd with those who had Authority there, as the Lord *de Bresse* (since Duke of *Savoy*) and the Lord *de Myolans*, who was Chamberlain to the King. As soon as the *Florentine* Ambassadors were return'd, *Peter de Medicis*, and some of his Friends, waited on the King, with their Answers to what had been demanded : They perceiv'd the inevitable Ruin of the City would be the Consequence of disputing any thing the King thought fit to require ; wherefore they resolv'd to gain his Favour, by doing something extraordinary, beyond what the rest of the States of *Italy* had done. Upon the News of their Approach, the Lord *de Piennes*, a Native of *Flanders*, and Chamberlain to the King, and Monsieur *Brissonet*, (whom I have so often mentioned before) were appointed to meet them : They propos'd the Surrender of *Serzana* to *Peter de Medicis*, which was immediately done : They demanded farther, that he would give the King Possession of *Pisa*, *Legorne*, *Pietro Sancto*, and *Librefacto*, and he granted it, without communicating with his Collegues, who were told, that the King was to be receiv'd into *Pisa*, and stay there some time to refresh his Troops ; but they never thought those Places were to be continued in his Hands. However, he had put their whole Power and Fortunes into our Custody. Those who manag'd this Treaty with *Peter de Medicis* have often told me and other People (smiling and laughing at his Condescensions) that they were astonish'd at them, and that he had made several Concessions, which they had scarce the Confidence to demand.

demand. In short, the King entred *Pisa*, and the Ambassadors return'd to *Florence*, where *Peter de Medicis* order'd Lodgings to be prepar'd for the King in his own House, which is the fairest and best furnish'd for a Merchant and Man of his Quality of any in *Europe*. A. D. 1494.

We must now say something of the D. of *Milan*, *The Artifices and Stratagems of Lodowick Sforza*, who was already grown weary of the King; and heartily wish'd him out of *Italy*, that he might still keep the Possession of such Places as were deliver'd up by the *Florentines*. He press'd the King very hard to have *Sarzana* and *Pietra Sancta* restor'd to him, which he said belong'd to the *Genoese*, and at the same time he lent the King 30000 Ducats, upon which (as he told me and several others since) he was promis'd he should have them; but finding he could not get them, he was highly disgusted at it, and pretending his Affairs requir'd him at home, left the King, who never saw him afterwards: But he order'd the Lord *Galeas di St. Severino* to stay with the King, giving him Instructions that he should be present in all Councils with the Count *Charles de Bellejoyeuse*, whom I have mention'd before. During the King's Stay at *Pisa*, the Lord *Galeas*, at his Master's Instigation invited several of the chief Citizens of the Town to his Lodging; and persuaded them to rebel against the *Florentines*, and petition the King to restore them to their Liberty, hoping by this Means that the City would fall again into the Duke of *Milan's* Hands, where it had formerly been in the time of Duke *John Galeas*, the first Duke of *Milan* of that Name; which *John* was a great Tyrant, but lived very honourably. His Body lies in the Charter-house at *Parvia*, not far from the Park, it is laid much higher than the Altar; the Monks shew'd it me

A. D. 1494. (or at least his Bones) with a Ladder, which were no sweeter than Nature permitted. One of the Monks, who was born at *Burges*, in Discourse call'd him *Saint*; I whisper'd him in the Ear, and ask'd him why he gave him the Title of *Saint*; for one might see painted about him, the Arms of several Cities which he had wrongfully usurp'd; besides, his Horse and he being of fine Marble, were plac'd above the Altar, and yet his Body lay under the Feet of his Horse: He answer'd me softly, *In this Country we call all Saints who do us any good, and he built this Church*; which is of fair Marble, and indeed the best I ever saw in my Life of that kind.

The Pisans
cruelly
us'd by the
Floren-
tines.

But to proceed, This *Galeas di St. Severino* had an Ambition to be a great Man, and *Lodowick Duke of Milan* (whose Bastard Daughter he had married) seem'd ambitious of making him so; for his own Children were not old enough as yet. The *Pisans* had been cruelly treated by the *Florentines*, and used as their Slaves, for they had been conquer'd by them about 100 Years, much about the time in which the *Venetians* subdued the Country and City of *Padua*, which was their first Acquisition upon the *Terra firma*. These two Cities were much alike; they had been long Enemies to those who had the Government of them; they were almost equal in Power, and it was a great while before they could be conquer'd. The *Pisans* call'd a Council, and finding themselves encourag'd by so great a Person, and being naturally desirous of Liberty, as the King was going to *Mass*, a great Number of Women and Men cried out to him, *Liberty, Liberty*, begging of him with Tears in their Eyes, that he would vouchsafe to restore it. There was at that time one *Rabot*, a Counsellor

fellor of the Parliament of *Dauphiné*, and then A. D. 1494.
 either actually Master of the Requests, or executing that Office for some body else, who (having promised to do so, or not well understanding the Nature of their Demands) acquainted the King (as he was walking before him) with the deplorable Condition of the *Pisans*, and told his Majesty he ought in Justice to redress their Wrongs, for never People had been so tyrannically dealt with. The King not understanding what they meant by that Word *Liberty*, and beginning to commiserate the Afflictions of *Italy*, and the Miseries the poor Subject endures both under Prince and Common-wealth, reply'd, he was willing it should be so; tho' (to speak Truth) he had no Authority to do it; for the Town was not his own, and he was receiv'd to it only in Friendship, and to relieve him in his present Necessities. *Monseigneur Rabot* having told them the King's Answer, the People began immediately to fill the Streets with Acclamations of Joy, and running to the end of the Bridge upon the River *Arno*, they pulled down a great Lion call'd *Mazorco*, which stood upon a Marble Pillar, and represented the Government of *Florence*, and threw it into the River. When they had so done, they caus'd another to be set up of the King of *France*, with his Sword in his Hand, and the *Mazorco* or Lion under his Horse's Feet. After that, when the King of the *Romans* came to that Town, they serv'd the King of *France's* Statue as they had serv'd the poor Lion; for 'tis the Humour of the *Italians* to side with the strongest always; but these *Pisans* were, and are still, so barbarously treated, they ought in Justice to be excus'd for what they do.

A. D.

1494.

C H A P. VIII.

Of the King's Departure from Pisa towards Florence; and of the Flight and Destruction of Peter de Medicis.

THE King stay'd not long there, but departed for *Florence*; where they complain'd to him of the Injury he had done to the *Florentines*, and that it was not according to his Promise, to restore the *Pisans* to their Liberty. Those whom he appointed to answer their Memorial, excus'd it in the best Manner they could; alledging, that his Majesty was not rightly inform'd, nor did he understand any thing of another Agreement, of which I shall say something hereafter. But in the first place I must speak of the Fortune of *Peter de Medicis*, of the King's Entrance into *Florence*, and of the Garrisons that his Majesty left in *Florence*, *Pisa*, and other Places, which the *Florentines* had lent him. After *Peter de Medicis*, by the Consent of some few of his Colleagues, had deliver'd up the above-mention'd Towns to the King, he return'd to *Florence*, supposing the King would not have kept them, but that after he had refresh'd himself for three or four Days, and had left *Pisa*, they would have been deliver'd him again. I am of Opinion, that had the King propos'd to them to have staid there the whole Winter they would easily have consented to it; tho' *Pisa*, except in the numbers of the People, and the Richness of their Furniture, is of greater Value and Importance

to

to them than *Florence* it self. *Peter de Medicis*, A. D. 1494. upon his Return to *Florence*, was but coldly received by the People, who look'd discontentedly upon him, and not without Reason; for he had disarm'd them of their Power and Authority, and robb'd them of all the Conquests they had gain'd for a hundred Years before; so that their Hearts seem'd to presage the Calamities which have happen'd to them since. For this Cause (which I believe was the principal, tho' they never declar'd it) for the Hatred they bore him, (as I have said before) and for the Recovery of their Liberties, which they desir'd impatiently, (without any Respect to the Services of *Cosmo* and *Laurence* his Predecessors, they resolv'd to drive him out of the Town. *Peter de Medicis* having some Intelligence, but no certain Knowledge of their Designs, went to the Senate to acquaint them of the King's Approach, who was within three Miles of the City; but coming according to his usual Custom, with his Guards, and knocking boldly at the Palace-gate, he was denied Entrance by one of the *Nerli*, (of whom there were several Brothers that I was well acquainted with, and their Father, all very wealthy People) who told him he might enter if he pleas'd alone, but otherwise not; and he that gave him this Answer was armed. Upon which, *Peter de Medicis* return'd to his House, put himself and his Domesticks in Arms, and sent Word of it to one *Paul Ursini*, who was in the *Florentine* Service; for by the Mother's side *Peter de Medicis* was a Kin to the *Ursini*, of which Family his Father and himself had always had several in their Service; resolving to stand upon his Guard, and oppose any Insurrection that might happen in the City: But not long after hearing

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1494.

*The Dis-
grace of
Peter de
Medicis.*

a great Cry of *Liberty, Liberty*, and the People being assembled in Arms, he left the City, according to the prudent Advice that was given him by this *Ursini*; tho' it was a sad Parting for him, for in Power and Riches he and his Predecessors had been equal with the greatest Princes: and that Day Fortune began to be adverse, and he lost both Authority and Estate. I was at *Venice* my self, but the News of it was communicated to me by the *Florentine* Ambassador, who was there, and was extremely concern'd at it; for I had a great Respect for his Father. Had this *Peter* believ'd me formerly, he had not then been in that Condition; for upon my first Arrival at *Venice* I wrote to him, and offer'd to make his Peace with the King, and it was in my Power to have done it; for I had Commission from the Seneschal and *Brissenet* both to do it, and the King would have been contented barely with Passage for his Troops, or at the worst to have had *Leghorne* put into his Hands, for which he would have done whatever *Peter* could have desir'd; but by the Persuasion and ill Counsel of *Peter Caponi*, whom I have mention'd before; did but laugh at me for the Offer I made him.

*The Fate
of People
in Adversity.*

The next Morning the *Florentine* Ambassador deliver'd a Letter to the Senate of *Venice*, importing that *Peter de Medicis* was banish'd *Florence* for endeavouring to make himself Sovereign of that City, by the Assistance of the *Ursini*, and the House of *Arragon*; besides other Complaints against him, which were not true. But such are the Accidents and Successes in this World, he who is beaten and flies, is not only sure to be pursued by his Enemies, but shall be forsaken; and perhaps persecuted by his Friends, as was too visible in the Behaviour of this Ambassador,

dor, *Anthony Soderini*, (one of the wisest Statesmen in all *Italy*). The Day before the Delivery of this Letter, he mention'd *Peter de Medicis* to me with the Respect due to his Sovereign Lord, now he declar'd himself his Enemy by order from the State; but to do him Justice, he said nothing, of himself that was to his Prejudice. The next Day I was inform'd that *Peter de Medicis* was coming to *Venice*, that the King had made his Triumphal Entry into *Florence*, and that the Senate had recall'd their Ambassador, telling him, *They were necessitated to sail by that Wind*, that was their Expression. I saw their Letter my self, for he shew'd it me upon his leaving *Venice*. Two Days after his Departure *Peter de Medicis* arriv'd at *Venice*, in the Disguise of a Servant in a Liv-ry. The *Venetians* were at a loss how to behave themselves towards him; they were afraid of disobliging the King, and yet they could not in reason refuse to give him Protection; however, they made him wait two Days before they would declare their Resolutions, desiring to know of me how my Master would take it: I had never receiv'd any Orders from the King to resent it, and being willing to serve him, I answer'd, *That I suppos'd this Flight was from the People, not from the King*. Upon which he was receiv'd, and the next Day after his Appearance before the Senate, I made him a Visit. The Senate order'd an handsom Apartment for him, permitted himself, and about twenty of his Retinue to wear their Swords, and shew'd him a great deal of Honour and Respect; for though his Grandfather *Cosmo* had formerly hinder'd them from making themselves Masters of *Milan*, yet they had a Reverence for the Honour of his Family, which had been so renown'd all over *Europe*.

A. D.

1494.

Peter de Medicis's Arrival at Venice,

A. D.

1494.

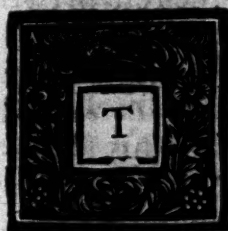
When I came into his Presence, methought he seem'd not to answer my Expectation: He gave me a Narrative of his Misfortunes, and I gave him the best Consolation I could: Among the rest of his Complaints, he told me he had lost all; but that which made the deepest Impression on his Spirits, was, that having writ to a Factor of his in Town, to furnish him with Cloth for himself and his Brother, and only to the Value of a hundred Ducats, he had been refused; which was a strange thing, considering his Estate and Authority, which had continu'd in great Lustre in that Family for threescore Years together. Not long after, he heard good News from the Lord *de Bresse*, since Duke of *Savoy*, and the King wrote to him to come to him. However the King left *Florence* about the same time, as you'll find hereafter; but I was forced to say something of this *Peter de Medicis* by the by.

C H A P. IX.

A. D.

1494-

Of the King's Entrance into Florence, and what other Towns he pass'd through in his March to Rome.



THE next Day the King made ^{The Palace} his Entrance into Florence, where ^{of Peter} *Peter de Medicis* had prepar'd a ^{de Medi-} noble Apartment for him in his ^{cis plun-} own Palace, and appointed the ^{der'd by} Lord *de (a) Balassat* to attend ^{Charles} *him*; but as soon as his Majesty was inform'd of ^{VIII. and} the Flight of *Peter de Medicis*, he fell a rifling the ^{others.} Palace, upon Pretence that the Bank at *Lions* was in Arrear to him for a considerable Sum of Money; and among other things he seiz'd upon a whole Unicorn's Horn, valu'd at six or seven thousand Ducats, besides two great Pieces of another, and several other things; and other People follow'd his Example. The best of his Furniture was convey'd into another House in the City; but the Mob plunder'd it. The Senate got Part of his richest Jewels, twenty thousand Ducats in ready Money that he had in Bank in the City; several fine Agate Cups, besides an incredible Number of Seals admirably well cut, which I have seen, and three thousand Medals of Gold and Silver, weighing near forty Pound Weight, which I believe was more

(a) *Ferron*, in his Supplement to *Paulus Emilius*, calls him *Matheus Balassius*, which comes pretty near the Name; but others, who pretend to know the Family, call him *de Balzac*.

than

A. D. 1494. than in all *Italy* besides ; so that his Losses in the City that Day might be computed at a hundred thousand Crowns, if not more : But the King being got into the City, a Treaty was set on Foot between him and the *Florentines*, and I am of opinion the Citizens embrac'd it very heartily. They gave the King sixscore thousand Ducats, paid him 50000 down, and the rest in two short Payments afterwards. They lent him all the above-mention'd Places, and chang'd their Arms, which were the *Red Flower-de-Luce*, and bore the King's, who took them into his Protection, and swore upon the Altar of *St. John* to restore the Towns which they had put into his Possession within four Months after his Arrival at *Naples*, or sooner, if he should return into *France* ; but Matters succeeded otherwise, as you will find in the Sequel of these Memoirs.

A Treaty
of Alliance
between
Charles
VIII. and
the Flo-
rentines.

The King made but a little Stay at *Florence* ; but advanc'd with his Army to *Siena*, where being well receiv'd, he advanc'd to *Viterbo*, where the Enemy (*Don Ferrand* being retreated towards *Rome*) design'd to post and fortifie themselves, and fight if they saw an advantageous Opportunity, as King *Alphonso's* and the Pope's Ambassadors at *Venice* told me ; and truly I expected the Arrival of King *Alphonso* in Person there, (for he had the Reputation of being a Man of Courage) and that he would have left his Son in the Kingdom of *Naples*, to have manag'd Affairs in his Absence. According to my Judgment the place would not have been altogether improper for them ; for he would have had his own Kingdom, the Patrimony of the Church, and the Towns and Places belonging to the *Urfini* behind them. And I was extremely surpriz'd to hear by Letters, that the King was at *Viterbo*, and

(c) and that one of the *Commanders* had deliver'd up the Castle upon the Intercession of the Cardinal *Petri ad Vincula*, (who was Governor of it) and the *Colonna*. I fancied then that God would put an End to this Affair, and began to repent of my having advis'd and written to the King to come to an Accommodation; for they offer'd him very fair. *Aqua Pendente*, *Montefiascone*, and all the adjacent Towns were deliver'd up before the Surrender of *Viterbo*, as I was inform'd by Letters from the King and others to the Senate at *Venice*, who had daily Intelligence of what pass'd from their Ambassadors, which they shew'd me, or else order'd their Secretaries to give me an account. From *Viterbo* the King marched towards *Rome*, through the Dominions of the *Ursini*, which were all surrender'd to him by the Lord *Charles Ursini*, pretending that he had Orders from his Father to do so, (who was always in King *Alphonso's* Service) and that whilst Don *Ferrand* was entertain'd in the Territories of the Church, so long was he commanded to wait on the King, and no longer. This was exactly according to the Custom in Italy, both among Princes and Captains, and all Persons; for there they carry fair with their very Enemies, for fear it should be their Misfortune to be of the weakest side. The King therefore was receiv'd into *Bracciano*, the chief Place belonging to *Virgil Ursini*; it was strong, beautiful,

A. D.
1494.

The Italians always
favour the
strongest
side.

(b) A *Commander* in this Place signifies a Person, who being in Possession of some Spiritual Preferment must not marry; but yet is not oblig'd to take holy Orders upon him; as the Grand Prior of *France*, and all the *Knights* of *St. John's* of *Jerusalem*.

and

A. D. 1494. and well furnish'd with Provisions: I have heard the King often commend the Place, and the Entertainment he met with there; for at that time his Army was in great Distress for want of Provision, and indeed they could hardly be in greater: So that if we do but consider how often this Army was inclinable to mutiny, and not to march any farther, since its first Arrival at *Vien-na* in *Dauphinè*, and the many unexpected Accidents by which it was supplied and advanc'd, it must of necessity be acknowledg'd, that God Almighty conducted it.

C H A P. X.

Of the King's sending the Cardinal of St. Peter ad Vincula (who was afterwards Pope by the Name of Julius II.) to Ostia: What the Pope did at Rome in the mean time: Of the King's Entry into Rome, notwithstanding all the Endeavours of his Enemies to the contrary; and of the Factions between the Ursini and the Colonna, in Rome.



FROM Bracciano the King sent the Cardinal of Saint Peter ad Vincula to Ostia, of which he was Bishop. Ostia is a Town of great Importance, possess'd by the Colonna, who had taken it formerly from the Pope; but not long since it was recover'd from the Cardinal by the Forces of

of the Church. It is a Town of no great strength, A. D. 1494.
 and yet it kept *Rome* in Subjection a long time, by means of the said Cardinal; who was a great Friend to the *Colonna*, which Family embrac'd our Interest, at the Instigation of Cardinal *Ascanio*, the Duke of *Milan's* Brother, and in Opposition to the *Ursini*, with whom they have been always at Difference. The Faction of these two Houses has occasion'd as great Troubles to the Church as the Animosity betwixt the *Luce* and the *Grandmonts* have been to us, or the *Houcs* and *Caballans* to the *Hollander*; and were it not for this Dissention, the Territory of the Church was one of the best Habitations for the Subject in the World; for they pay no Taxes, their Duties are few, and they would be sure to be well govern'd; for the Popes are always wise, and have good Council about them. But because of these Emulations, it is subject to many Calamities, as Murders and Plundering, &c. of which sort we have seen frequent Examples within these last four Years. Since that time the *Colonna* have been our Enemies, much to their Dishonour; for the King had given them twenty thousand Ducats a Year, and better, in the Kingdom of *Naples*, as in the County of *Tagliacozzo*, and other Places (which was before the Estate of the *Ursini*) besides whatever else they demanded, whether in Men or Money: So that what they did was done treacherously and unhandsonly without any manner of Provocation; but they had been always for the House of *Arragon* against the *French*, as being *Gibelines*, and the *Ursini* (being *Guelphs*) were always on our side with the *Florentines*.

The King sent along with the Cardinal of *St. Peter ad Vincula*, to *Ostia*, *Peron de la Basche* the Steward

A. D. 1494. Steward of his Household, who three Days before had brought the King twenty thousand Ducats by Sea, which was part of the Money lent him by the Duke of *Milan*: This *Peron de la Basche* landed at *Piombino*, and left the Fleet (which was but small) under the Command of the Prince of *Salerno*, and the Baron of *Sernon* in *Provence*, but being taken suddenly with a Storm, their Ship was much shatter'd, and driven upon the Coasts of *Sardinia* and *Corfica*, where they lay a long time without doing us any Service till they could be repair'd, though they were at a vast Expence, and came not to us, till the King was in *Naples*.

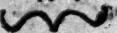
There were with the Cardinal at *Ostia* about 500 Men at Arms, and two thousand *Swiss*, under the Command of the (a) Count *de Ligny*, the King's Cousin-German, by the Mother's Side, the Lord *d'Allegre*, and others. Their Design was to have pass'd the *Tybur*, and inclos'd Don *Ferrand* in *Rome*, by the Favour and Assistance of the *Colonna*, of whom the chief were *Prospero*, and *Fabritio Colonna*, and the Cardinal *di Colonna*; who had 2000 Foot under his Command, to pay whom the King remitted Money by *Peter de la Basche*, though they had rais'd and muster'd them at their own Pleasure, at *Sanfonna*, a Town belonging to them.

We must observe that several Affairs are co-incident in this Place, and of every one of them something must be said. Before the King had made his Entrance into *Viterbo*, he had sent the

(a) *Lewis de Luxembourg*, Count *de Ligny*, Son of *Lewis* Constable of *France*; by his second Wife, *Mary* of *Savoy*, Sister to *Charlotte* of *Savoy*, Queen of *France*, and Mother of *Charles VIII*.

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Lord *de la Trimouille*, his Chamberlain, the President of *(b) Guiennay*, who had the Seal, and Monsieur *Bidaut*, to Rome, to treat with his Holiness; who was never without some under-hand Practices, according to the Mode of the *Italians*. While they were at *Rome*, the Pope in the Night receiv'd Don *Ferrand* and his whole Army into the Town, so that some few of our People were seiz'd, but dismiss'd the same Day by the Pope; only the Cardinal *Ascanio*, Vice-Chancellor and Brother to the Duke of *Milan*, and *Prospero di Colonna* were detain'd; (some say by their own Consent.) I had News of all this immediately, by Letters from the King; and the Senate of *Venice* had a more ample Account of it from their Agents, and it happen'd before the King got into *Viterbo*, for neither side staid above two Days in a Place, and all things succeeded better for our Interest than we could have expected or hop'd; and no wonder, for God's Providence appear'd so visibly in our Assistance, that no body could deny it.

The Badness of the Weather had render'd this Army in *Ostia* utterly unserviceable. You must understand, that the Forces under the Command of the Lord *d'Aubigny* were march'd back, and he himself had do farther Employment there. The *Italians* were likewise dismiss'd, which had been rais'd in *Romania*, and brought to the Army by Count *Rodolphus de Mantua*, the Lord *Galeot de la Mirandola* and

(b) *John de Gannay*, Lord of *Persan*, first President of the Parliament of *Paris*, and Chancellor of *France* under *Lewis XII*. He had formerly been Chancellor of the Kingdom of *Naples*. He died in the Year 1512.

A. D. 1494. *Fracasse*, Brother to *Galeas di St. Severino*, who were well paid by the King, and were in all about 500 Men. At his Departure from *Viterbo*, the King advanc'd to (c) *Naples*, of which the Cardinal *Ascanio* was then Governor. It is most certain, whilst our Forces were in *Ostia*, twenty Fathoms of the Wall fell down at *Rome*, on that side where we design'd to enter. The Pope observing this young Prince to advance so briskly, and with such unexpected Success, consented to receive him into *Rome*, (and to speak Truth he could not help it) upon condition he would give safe Conduct under his Hand and Seal to *Don Ferrand Duke of Calabria*, and only Son to *Alphonso*; but *Ferrand* march'd away in the Night towards *Naples*, and the Cardinal (d) *Ascanio* conducted him to the very Gate. The King entred *Rome* in Arms, as a Prince who at that time might do what he pleas'd where-ever he came. There came out to meet him several Cardinals, and the Governors and Senators of the Town, who attended him to his Lodgings in the Palace of *St. Mark*, (which belong'd to the *Colonna* who were then his Creatures and Friends) and the Pope himself retir'd to his Castle of *St. Angelo*.

The triumphal Entry of Charles VIII. into Rome.

(c) Several Historians name this Place *Naples*, tho' by the Description of *Italy* it ought to be *Nepe*; in *Blondus* 'tis *Nepesum*; in *Volaterran*, *Nepet*; and in *Marco Guazzo*, *Nepi*.

(d) *Ascani' Maria Sforza*, Brother of *Lewis Duke of Milan*, created Cardinal in 1484. by Pope *Sixtus IV.* degraded of that Dignity, and afterwards restor'd to it by Pope *Alexander VI.* in 1495. He died of the Plague or Poison in 1505.

A. D.

1494.

C H A P. XI.

Of King Alphonso's causing his Son Ferrand to be crown'd King ; his Flight into Sicily, and of the Mischief his Father (old Ferrand) and he had done in their Reigns.

COULD any Man have imagin'd that so imperious a Prince as *Alphonso*, inur'd all his Lifetime to Wars ; that his Son and the *Ursini* having so great a Party in *Rome*, should have been afraid to have made a Stand there? Especially when they perceiv'd the Duke of *Milan* and the *Venetians* wavering, and an Alliance on foot underhand, which would certainly have been concluded, had any Resistance been made either at *Viterbo* or *Rome*, that might have stopp'd the Progress of the King's Arms, though but for three or four Days : But God was willing to demonstrate to the World, that all these things were beyond the Contrivance and Comprehension of human Wisdom. We said before, that above twenty Fathoms of the City-Wall fell down ; so now there fell down above fifteen of the Wall of the Castle of *St. Angelo*, as I have been told by several Persons ; and particularly by two Cardinals who were there. But now we must say something of King *Alphonso*.

The unexpected and wonderful Success of the Expedition into Italy, undertaken by Charles VIII.

As soon as the Duke of *Calabria*, call'd the young *Ferrand*, (whom we have already often mention'd) was return'd to *Naples* ; his Father, King *Alphonso*, thought himself not worthy of the Crown any longer, for the Mischiefs and Cruelties he had committed against several Princes and Lords

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who

A. D. 1494. who had trusted to his and his Father's Honour, causing them to be put to Death (to the number of four and twenty) after the Decease of his Father, who had kept them alive some time after their Wars against him. Two more he also caus'd to be executed, who had surrender'd upon his Father's Security; one was the (a) Duke of *Sessa*, a Person of great Authority; and the other was the Prince of *Rossano*, who had married *Ferrand's* Sister, and had by her a Son of very great Parts and Understanding. To make sure of him (for the Prince and Lord of *Rossano* was engag'd against him in a most abominable Treason, and had deserv'd the worst Punishment that could have been inflict'd; had he not surrender'd himself upon Assurance of a Pardon.) As soon as he had done it, the King order'd him to be closely confin'd in a nasty stinking Prison, where he continued for the Space of four and thirty Years, and whither he sent his Son, when he was about fifteen or sixteen Years old, to bear him Company. *Alphonso*, immediately upon his Accession to the Throne, order'd all the Prisoners to be remov'd to a small Island not far from *Naples*, call'd *Ischia* (of which you shall hear further hereafter) and put all of them to Death after a most barbarous and inhuman Manner, except *Rossano's* Son, and the noble Count *di Popoli*, whom he still kept Prisoners in the Castle of *Naples*. I enquir'd very carefully how they were murder'd, (because many

The Barba-
rity and
Tyranny of
Alphonso
II. King
of Naples.

(a) *Jovianus Pontanus*, who wrote a History of the Wars of *John of Anjou*, and *Ferrand* the elder, makes the Prince of *Rossano* and the Duke of *Sessa* to be one and the same Person.

People believ'd them alive when the King enter'd into *Naples*) but I was assur'd by their principal Servants, that they were knocked on the Head by a Moor of *Africa*, who immediately after the Execution was dispatch'd into *Barbary*, that no Notice might be taken of it. I was inform'd he did not excuse those ancient Princes, some of which had been kept in Prison four or five and thirty Years. Never was any Prince more bloody, wicked, inhuman, lascivious, or luxurious than he. Yet his Father was more dangerous, because no Man knew when he was angry or pleas'd; for he would betray People in the midst of his Entertainments and Caresses, no body knew why or wherefore, as he serv'd Count *James*, whom he caus'd on a sudden to be apprehended, and put to Death, though He was in the Quality of an Ambassador at his Court from *Francis* Duke of *Milan*, whose natural Daughter he had married: But to that barbarous Action *Francis* was consenting, for they were both afraid of his Interest with the (e) *Bracci*, and being Son to *Nicolo Piccinino*. In the same Manner (as Report goes) he serv'd several others, for this *Ferrand* had nothing of Tendernefs or Compassion in him, as I have been inform'd by his nearest Friends and Relations, nor ever was known to take the least Pity of his own necessitous Subjects in Relation to their Taxes. The whole Trade of Buying and Selling he engross'd himself, and that quite through his Kingdom. He deliver'd Hogs to his People to feed, and requir'd them to make them fat; and if any of

A. D.

1494.

(e) They were Soldiers, that took their Name from one *Brachivo di Fortibraci*, a famous Captain in his Time.

A. D. 1494. them chanc'd to die, they were sure to pay for them. In *Apuglia* and other Countries which were plentiful in Olives, he and his Son bought them all up, and almost at their own Pleasure; the same they did with their Corn, at a cheap Rate before it was ripe, and then sold it again as dear as they could; but if the Price of any of their Commodities happen'd to fall in the mean time, they oblig'd the People to take it off their Hands at the same Price they bought it; and whilst they were dispos'd to sell, no body durst buy of any one else. If a Baron, or the Lord of any Country, was a good Husband, and sav'd any thing out of his Revenue, by Management and Industry; they sent presently to borrow it, and they were forc'd to comply with their unreasonable Demands. They took away their Breed of Horses, (in which in those Parts People are very curious) and caus'd them to be manag'd and dress'd for them and their Use, by the Owners themselves; so that they had in Horses, Mares and Colts, many Millions, which they sent up and down the Kingdom to be kept for them, to the great detriment of the Masters. Both Father and Son had ravish'd several Women: They made no Conscience of Sacrilege, nor retain'd the least Respect or Obedience for the Church. They sold their Bishopricks, as that of *Tarento*, which the Father sold for thirteen thousand Ducats to a Jew to give his Son, whom the Jew pretended was a Christian. He gave Abbies to his *Faulconers*, and several others for their Children, telling them, *You shall keep me so many Hawks, you shall mew them, and keep me such a Number of Soldiers at your own Expence.* The Son never kept Lent in his Life, nor so much as pretended to do it: He never was at Confession, nor ever receiv'd the Sacra-

Sacrament of the Lord's Supper. In short, it is scarce possible that any Prince could be guilty of greater Villanies. Some will have the young *Ferrand* to be the worst of the two; tho' at his Death he grew humble and civil, but then indeed he was in Distress.

Perhaps the Reader may think, that what I have written of these two Princes, proceeds from some particular Pique against them; but upon my Conscience that is not the Motive that induced me to do it; for I have given you a short History of their Lives, only to continue my *Memoirs*, in the Beginning of which I freely declar'd my Opinion, that I thought it impossible for those, who had the Management of our Affairs, to have carried on this Expedition so prosperously, had not God himself undertaken to conduct it for this young King; and whom he supplied with Provisions in the Extremity of his Wants, and made him his Instrument to scourge and chastise these *Italian* Princes, who were wise, rich, powerful, and understanding in the Affairs of the World; had a wife and able Ministry, to defend and take care of their Dominions, and supported and engag'd in a powerful Alliance; and tho' they beheld the Storm afar off, yet had not Courage or Wisdom enough at that time either to resist or avoid it: for except the Castle of *Naples*, there was not one Place in all *Italy* that made the least Defence, or stopp'd the Progress of the King's Arms for a Day: which occasion'd Pope *Alexander VI.* to say, that the French came into *Naples* with Wooden Spurs, and only Chalk in their Harbingers Hands to mark out their Lodgings, which they took up without any more trouble: The Wooden Spurs he mention'd, because it was the Custom

A. D. at that time, when young Gentlemen rode about
1494. the Streets, for their Pages to put a sharp Piece
of Wood into the Heel of their Shoes, with
which they prick'd their Mules forward. In
short, this Expedition into *Italy* was perform'd
with so much Ease, and so little Resistance, that
our Soldiers scarce ever put on their Arms du-
ring the whole Expedition, and the King march'd
with his Army from *Asti* to *Naples* in four Months
and nineteen Days; an Ambassador with his
Retinue could hardly well have got thither
sooner. I conclude therefore with several pious
and religious Men, and the general Vote of the
People (which is the Voice of God) that God
intended to make an Example of these Princes,
that by this Chastisement others might be ex-
cited to conform their Lives according to the
Precepts of his Holy Gospel: For these Princes
of *Arragon* lost their Honour, their Kingdom,
and their Treasure, besides their rich Furniture
of all sorts, which was so strangely dispers'd, it
is hardly to be known what is become of it, or
that they ever had any; and after all their Ty-
ranny and Cruelties, they died themselves, three
in one Year, or a little more; but I hope their
Souls are in Paradise. King *Ferrand*, natural
Son to *Alphonso* the Great (who was a wise and
an honourable Prince) was highly concern'd to
see his Kingdoms invaded with such a powerful
Army, and himself not in a condition to oppose
it. He was also sensible of the notorious Lives
that he and his Son had led, and of their being
become odious to the People. And besides, in
the pulling down of a Chappel (as I have been
assur'd by several of his nearest Relations) there
was a Book found with this Title, *Truth, with
its secret Counsel*; in which (by Report) was con-

contain'd the whole Series of his Misfortunes ; A. D. but there were only three Persons who had a Sight of it, for as soon as he had read it, he committed it to the Flames. Another thing that troubled him was, that neither his Son nor Grandson could be perswaded of the King's coming into *Italy* ; but they talk'd arrogantly and contemptuously of him, hectoring and threatening that they would go as far as the Mountains to meet him : But some were so wise as to make it their solemn Petition to God Almighty, *That a King of France might never come into Italy* ; for they had seen a poor indigent Prince of the Family of *Anjou*, who had troubled all *Italy* before it could be rid of him, meaning Duke *John*, King *Renè's* Son. *Ferrand* labour'd hard the Year before by his Ambassador *Camillo Pandone* to stop the King's Expedition into *Italy*, before he left *France* ; offering him a Tribute of five thousand Ducats a Year, and to do him Homage for that Kingdom : but finding he could neither purchase his Peace with the King of *France*, nor compose the Differences of *Milan*, he fell sick, confess'd, and dy'd, and I hope repented of his Sins. His Son *Alphonso*, who was so cruel and terrible, and in such Reputation for his Experience in Military Affairs, before the King of *France's* Departure from *Rome*, renounc'd the Crown, and was seiz'd with such a pannick Fear, that in the Night he would cry out he heard the *French*, and the Stones and the Trees sounded, *France, France* ; nor durst he ever stir out of *Naples*, but upon his Son's Return from *Rome*, he resign'd the Government of that Kingdom to him, caus'd him to be crown'd, and rode on Horseback through the Streets of *Naples*, attended by the chief Persons of the

A. D. City, as his Brother *Don Frederick*, the Cardinal
 1494. of *Genoa*, (the new King riding betwixt them)
 ~~~~~ and all the foreign Ambassadors that were there ;  
 and after all this Pomp and Solemnity was per-  
 form'd, *Alphonso* himself fled into *Sicily*, and  
 took with him the Queen his Mother-in-law,  
 Sister to *Ferrand* King of *Castile*, who is now  
 reigning, and Heir to the Kingdom of *Sicily*,  
 to a Place where she had a strong Garrison.  
 This was look'd upon as a very surprizing Turn  
 of Affairs, all over *Europe*, but especially at *Ve-*  
*nice*, where I was then in Quality of the King's  
 Ambassador : Some said he was retir'd to the  
*Turkish* Court, others that his Resignation was  
 only in favour of his Son, who was less odious  
 to the People ; but I was always of opinion, it  
 proceeded from nothing but Cowardise ; for  
 never any Person that was cruel was couragious,  
 as all Histories inform us ; for so *Nero* and sever-  
 al other Tyrants, when press'd by their Sub-  
 jects, fled from the Administration of their Af-  
 fairs, and perish'd in Despair. In short, *Al-*  
*phonso* was in so great a Consternation, that (as  
 I was inform'd by some who were about him)  
 he told his Mother-in-law, the very Day of  
 their Departure, that if she would not go, he  
 would leave her ; and when she entreated him  
 to put off his Departure but for three Days lon-  
 ger, that it might be said she had been a whole  
 Year in his Kingdom ; he reply'd, that rather  
 than not go then, he would throw himself out  
 of the Window : For do not you hear (said he)  
 how every Body cries out, *France, France* ? Upon  
 which they immediately went on board a Vessel  
 he had prepar'd on purpose. He took along  
 with him all sorts of Wines (which he lov'd  
 above all things) and Seeds for his Gardens,  
 with-

All Ty-  
 rants are  
 Cowards.

The Flight  
 of Al-  
 phonso  
 King of  
 Naples.



without taking any care of his Estate, or rich Furniture, which was left at random in the Castle of *Naples*; some Jewels and a little Money he carried with him besides, and away they sail'd for *Sicily* to the Garrison above-mention'd, and from thence to *Messina*, where he pick'd up and carried along with him certain Monks, to whom he pretended and swore he would have no further Conversation with the World. Among the rest, he took particular Fancy to the Monks of *Mount Olivet*, whose Habit is white (as they told me at *Venice*, where the Body of St. *Helen* is deposited in their Cloister) and with them he liv'd a strict and austere Life, serving God at all Hours both of the Day and the Night, as they did in their Convents, spending his Time in Prayers, Abstinence, and Alms; by which Austerity and severe way of living he contracted a sad Distemper of Excoriation and Gravel: They told me they never saw any Man in greater Misery, and yet he endured it with abundance of Patience, having resolved to spend the Remainder of his Days in a Monastery at *Valentia Major*, and to have taken upon him the Habit; but he was surpris'd with a violent Fit, and died in a short time after. If we may judge from the greatness of his Penitence, we may conclude his Soul is in Paradise. His Son out-lived him not long, for he died of a Feaver and a Flux, and I hope they are better where they are. To conclude, in less than two Years time, there were five Kings crown'd in *Naples*, three I have mention'd before, *Charles VIII.* of *France*, and (a) *Don Frederick*, *Alphonso's* Brother, who now reigns.

(a) He was crown'd King of *Naples* in 1495. He reign'd but six or seven Years, before he was dethron'd; after which he retir'd into *France*, where he died.

A. D.

1494.

## : C H A P. XII.

*Of Ferrand the Younger's being crown'd King of Naples; his encamping with his Forces at St. Germain, in order to oppose King Charles; and of the Agreement King Charles made with the Pope during his Stay at Rome.*

NOW for the better understanding of all these Affairs, you must know that King *Ferrand*, after his Coronation was over, became a new Man; supposing all the Odium and Resentment of past Injuries were buried in Oblivion, upon his Father's abdicating the Throne. He assembl'd all the Forces he could raise both of Horse and Foot, and march'd with 'em to *St. Germain*, which is a strong Place (tho' the *French* had pass'd it twice) upon the Frontiers of that Kingdom. Having encamp'd there, and put a strong Garrison, with all manner of Provisions, into the Town, his Friends began to take heart. The Town is defended two Ways by a small (a) River that is fordable sometimes, and by a great Mountain which seems to hang over it.

The King in the mean time was at *Rome*, and continued there twenty Days, during which time several Affairs of Importance were transacted: There were with him about eighteen Cardinals, and others from several Parts; a-

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(a) The *Liris* or *Garigliano*.

mong whom there were Signior *Ascanio* Vice-Chancellor and Brother to the Duke of *Milan*, and *Peter ad Vincula*, (great Friends to one another, but mortal Enemies to the Pope) the Cardinals (*a*) *de Gurze*, (*b*) *St. Dennis*, (*c*) *St. Severino*, (*d*) *Savelly*, (*e*) *Colonna*, and others ; all of them earnest for a new Election, and that the Pope might be depos'd, who was then in his Castle. Twice our Great Guns were ready to fire (as I have been told by several Persons of Quality) but both times the King oppos'd it. The Place is not defensible, being built upon a small Hill, and that forced and artificial. It was alledg'd that the Walls were fallen down by Prodigy, and they charg'd his Holiness with having given Money for the Papacy ; but *Ascanio* was the principal Merchant, for it was he that drove

A. D.

1494.

(*a*) *Raimund Perauld*, a Native of *Surgeres* in *Xaintonge*, Bishop of *Xaintes*, afterwards of *Gurze* in *Germany*, created Cardinal by Pope *Alexander VI.* in 1493. He died in 1505. and was interr'd at *Viterbo* in the *Augustin's* Church.

(*b*) *John de la Grolaye*, or *de Villiers*, a Monk and Abbot of *St. Dennis* in *France*, afterwards Bishop of *Lombes* ; created a Cardinal in 1493. by Pope *Alexander VI.* He died in 1499. and was buried at *Rome* in the *French* Chapel of *St. Peter's* Church of the *Vatican*.

(*c*) *Frederick di St. Severino*, Son of *Robert* Count *di Cajazzo* and *Joan di Corregio*, promoted to the Cardinalship by Pope *Innocent VIII.* in 1489, and confirm'd in it by the College of Cardinals after that Pope's Death, in 1492. He died in 1516.

(*d*) *John Baptista Sabelli*, an *Italian*, made a Cardinal in 1480. by Pope *Sixtus IV.* He died in 1498. in the eightieth Year of his Age.

(*e*) *John Colonna*, an *Italian*, Son of *Anthony* Prince of *Salerno*, and Nephew to Cardinal *Prospero Colonna*. He was made a Cardinal in 1480. by Pope *Sixtus IV.* and died in 1508.

the



A. D. 1494. the Bargain, and receiv'd most of the Money, besides the House in which the Pope lived when he was Vice-chancellor, all the rich Furniture, his Vice-chancellorship, and several other Places of St. Peter's Patrimony besides; for they two were Competitors for the Popedom. However I am of opinion they would both have consented to a new Election at the King's Pleasure, tho' it had been of a *French-man*. I will not pretend to say whether he acted well or ill, but I think the King's best way was to compose Matters amicably, as he did; for he was a young Man, and incapable of performing so important a Work as the Reformation of the Church, tho' perhaps his Strength might have been sufficient. Could he have undertaken and gone through with it, I question not but all Men of Wisdom and Reason would have acknowledg'd it to have been a good Work; but there were several things wanting: However the King's Intentions were good, and are so still, if he were vigorously assisted.

The King came to such an Accommodation with the Pope, as could not possibly last long; for it was too violent in some Points, and gave great Umbrage to the making an Alliance, of which we shall speak more hereafter. By this Agreement there was to be a Peace between the Pope, his Cardinals, and all their Adherents; and the said Cardinals were to receive all the Rights and Perquisites belonging to their Dignities, as well absent as present: and that the Pope should deliver four Towns to the King, *Terracina*, *Civita Vecchia*, *Viterbo*, (which was in his Hands already) and *Spoletto*; but this last he never deliver'd, notwithstanding his Promise. All these Towns were to be restor'd to the Pope

Pope upon the King's Return out of *Naples*, which was perform'd on the King's part, tho' the Pope had not dealt fair with him. By this Agreement he also deliver'd the *Grand Signior's* (a) Brother, to the King; for whom he receiv'd constantly every Year of the Great *Turk* 60000 Ducats, lest he should attempt another Rebellion against him. He promis'd not to put a Legate into any Place under the Jurisdiction of the Church, without the King's Approbation. There were other Articles relating to the Consistory, for which and the rest the Cardinal of *Valentia* was given in Hostage, who attended the King instead of a Legate. The King on his part did his filial Obedience with all imaginable Humility, and the Pope created two Cardinals at his Request; one was Monsieur *Brissonet*, before made Bishop of *St. Malo*; the other was the (b) Bishop of *Mans*, of the House of *Luxembourg*, and then Resident in *France*.

A. D.

1494.

(a) *Sultan Zemi*, Brother to *Bajazet II.* who having rais'd a Rebellion against his Brother, fled to the Soldan of *Egypt* for Assistance; but being defeated in a set Battle, he fled to *Rhodes*, from whence he was sent into *France* to *Lewis XI.* in order to hinder him from making his Escape; and to encourage the Knights of *Rhodes* to have a watchful Eye over him, the *Grand Signior* allow'd 'em four hundred thousand Crowns a Year. *Lewis XI.* gave him to Pope *Innocent VIII.* in whose Hands he remain'd till the delivering him back again by *Charles VIII.* to the Pope himself.

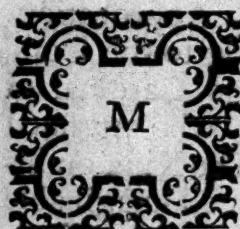
(b) *Philip de Luxembourg*, created Cardinal in 1495. He was the Son of *Thibaut* Lord of *Fiennes* and *Gavre*, who having buried his Wife *Philippa de Melun*, turn'd Monk of the Order of *White Friars*, in the Abby of *Ignay* in the Diocess of *Rheims*, of which he was afterwards Abbot, and then Bishop of *Mans*. He was nominated to be a Cardinal by Pope *Sixtus IV.* to whom he was sent in an Embassy by *Lewis XI.* in 1472.

A. D.

1494.

C H A P. XIII.

*Of the King's Departure from Rome to Naples; of the Transactions in that Kingdom in the mean time; and an Account of what Places the King of France pass'd through in his March.*



MATTERS being adjusted after this manner, the King left Rome seemingly in great Friendship with the Pope; but eight Cardinals left the Town in a Huff, of which six were of (c) the Vice-chancellor's Party and the Cardinal of *St. Peter ad Vincula's*; tho' it was suppos'd but a Copy of *Africanio's* Countenance, and that at the Bottom he was agreed with the Pope; but his Brother had not then declar'd himself our Enemy. The King march'd with his Army to *Sansonna*, and from thence to *Velitri*, where the Cardinal of *Valenza* gave him the slip.

Several Castles taken by Charles VIII. in his March to Naples. The next Morning the King took *Monte-fortino* by Storm, and put the Garrison to the Sword. The Place belong'd to *James Visconti*, who had enter'd into the King's Service, and afterwards deserted him; for the *Visconti* are of the Faction of the *Ursini*. From thence the King march'd to *Valmonton*, which belong'd to the *Colonna*, and thence advanc'd to a strong Place within 4 Miles of *Mount St. John*, batter'd it 7 or 8 Hours with his heavy Cannon, and then took it by Storm,

(c) He was afterwards made Pope by the Name of *Julius II.* in 1503. and died in 1513.

and



and put all the Garrifon to the Sword: It was A. D. Church-land, and belong'd to the Marquis di 1494. *Pescara*; and there our whole Army join'd. From thence the King march'd about sixteen Miles to *St. Germain*, where the new King *Ferrand* was encamp'd, as I said before, with all the Force he was able to assemble. There was now no Remedy; this was the Place for him to fight in, or no where; for it was the Entrance into his Kingdom, and he was advantageously posted, both in respect of the River and the Mountain. He had also sent a strong Detachment to secure the Pass at *Cancelló*, which is among the Mountains about six Miles from *St. Germain*: But before the King's Approach, *Ferrand* retir'd with great Precipitation, and abandon'd both the Town and the Pass. Monsieur *de Guise* commanded the Van that Day, for the (c) Lord *de Rieux* was order'd to take the Pass at *Cancelló*, which the *Arragonians* ought to have defended; but they had abandon'd their Post before he arriv'd there, so that the King enter'd *St. Germain* without any Resistance. King *Ferrand* retreated to *Capua*, where they receiv'd him, and some few of his Retinue; but refus'd to admit his whole Army. He made no long stay among 'em at that time, but only entreated them to continue faithful to him, promising to return the next Day; and away he posted to *Naples*, suspecting the Defection which afterward happen'd there. The greatest part of his Army he left behind, and commanded them to attend him at *Capua*; but when he came back the next Day, they were all fled. *Virgil Ursini* and his

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(c) *John* Lord of *Rieux*, Marshal of *Bretagne*.

A. D. 1494. Cousin the Count de *Pettilane* fled to *Nola*, where they and their Party were taken by our Men:

They affirm'd that they had a Pass, and that we did them wrong, and 'tis true enough; but their Passport was not come to their hands: However they paid nothing for their Ransom, only they were plunder'd; and to speak the truth, their Loss was very considerable.

From *St. Germain* the King march'd to *Mignano* and *Tiano*, and encamp'd at *Caluy* two Leagues from *Capua*, where the Inhabitants of that City came to treat with him, and the King enter'd it with his whole Army: From *Capua* he march'd the next Day to *Aversa*, in the mid Way between *Capua* and *Naples*, about six Miles distant from both. The chief of the *Neapolitans* waited on his Majesty there, and they came to an Accommodation; by which their ancient Liberties and Privileges were secur'd to 'em. The King sent thither before him the Marshal de Giè, the Seneschal of *Beaucaire*, the President *Gannay* (who kept the Seals) and his Secretaries. King *Ferrand* finding how Matters went, and seeing the People and Nobility in Arms against him, and his Stables plunder'd before his Face, got immediately aboard a Galley, and made the best of his way for *Ischia* (which is a small Island about 18 Miles from *Naples*.) The King of *France* was receiv'd into the (a) City with all possible Solemnity and Acclamations of Joy; all the People came out to meet him, and those who had been oblig'd to the House of *Arragon* came first; as

King Ferrand's Flight from Naples.

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(a) This triumphal Entry of *Charles VIII.* into *Naples* in the Year 1495. is to be seen at large in the first Volume of the *French Ceremonial*, pag. 982.

particularly the Family of the *Caraffi*, who held A. D. at that time of the House of *Arragon*, above 1494. 400000 Ducats a Year in Lands and Employ-  
ments: for the Kings in that Country can dispose of their own Demesnes as well as other Peoples; and I am of opinion there are not three considerable Estates in the whole Kingdom, but they consist either of Crown-Lands, or other Mens.

Never People express'd so great a Zeal and *The Affection of the* Affection to any King or Nation, as they did to ours, supposing themselves deliver'd from all Tyranny; so that every where they willingly submitted to us. The whole Country of *Calabria* yielded; and the Lord *d' Aubigny* and *Peron de Basche* were sent to command them without any Forces of their own. *Abruzzo* revolted of its own accord, and the Town of *Aquila* (which was always in the *French* Interest) set 'em an Example. In *Apuglia* they did the same, all but the Castle of *Brindisi*, (which is strong and well mann'd) and the Town of *Gallipoli*, which had also a strong Garrison in it, or else the Inhabitants would have revolted. In *Calabria* there were three Places which held out for King *Ferrand*, two of them were *Mantia* and *Tropea*, anciently Creatures of the House of *Anjou*, and had at first set up the Arms of *France*; but because he had given them to *Monsieur de Persi*, and would not make them of his own Demesnes, they pull'd down his Arms, and erected the Banners of *Arragon*. The third Place was the Castle of *Rbegio*, which continu'd firm to the House of *Arragon*; but all that stood out did so for want of being summon'd; for there were not a sufficient Body of Troops sent into *Apuglia* and *Calabria* to have kept one Castle for the King. *Taranto*

Q

surren-



A. D. 1494. surrender'd both Castle and Town, and so did *Otranto, Monopoli, Trani, Manfredonia, Barletta*, all but what I excepted before. They came three Days Journey to meet our Army, and begg'd of them to receive their respective Cities into our Protection. They sent likewise all of them to *Naples*, and all the Princes and great Lords of that Kingdom came thither to do Homage to our King, except the Marquis *di Pescara*; but his Brothers and Nephews came. The Count *d'Acri* and the Marquis *di Squillaxzo* fled into *Sicily*, because our King had given their Estates to the Lord *d'Aubigny*. There was lately arriv'd at *Naples* the Prince of *Salerno* newly come from Sea; but he had done nothing considerable. His Cousin the Prince of *Bisignano* was there also with his Brothers, and the Dukes of *Melfi* and *Graveline*, and the old Duke of *Sora*, who heretofore had sold his Dutchy to the Cardinal of *St. Peter ad Vincula*, and his Brother enjoys it at this Day. The Counts *di Monterio, di Fondi, di Tripaldi*, and the Count *di Celano* (who had been banish'd a long time, and was return'd with the King) came also to *Naples*. The Count *de Troye*, a young Scotch Gentleman, but educated in *France*, was there also, and the Count *di Popoli*, whom we found Prisoner in *Naples*. The young Prince of *Rossano* (who as we said before was Prisoner with his Father, who had been confin'd thirty four Years) was releas'd, and accompanied King *Ferrand* to *Ischia*; but whether voluntarily or by Compulsion I cannot resolve. There came also to *Naples* the Marquis *di Venafro*, all the *Caldoresques*, the Count *di Matalon*, and the Count *di Merillano*, (they and their Predecessors having always govern'd the House of *Arragon*;) and in short, all the Nobility of that King-

Kingdom, but the three Persons which I ex- A. D.  
cepted before. 1494.

C H A P. XIV.

*King Charles's being crown'd King of Naples; the Errors in his Government of that Kingdom; and of the Discovery of a Design in his Favour against the Turks, by the Venetians.*

**K**ING Ferrand, when he fled from Naples, left the Marquis di Pescara, and some Germans, in the (a) Castle; and sail'd himself into Sicily to demand Succours of his Father. Don Frederick still kept at Sea with some Gallies, and came twice (with a Pass-port) to treat with our King. His Demands were, that some part of that Kingdom might remain to his Nephew, with the Title of King; and that he himself might enjoy all the Lands which belong'd to him and his Wife. His Request was not unreasonable; for his own Estate was but small: The King offer'd to give both him and his Nephew an Equivalent in France; and I am of opinion his Majesty would have given them some considerable Dutchy, but they did not think fit to accept it: Besides, there was no trusting them in the Kingdom of Naples; for they would have observ'd no Articles of Agreement any longer than it had been for their Advantage. We erected

(a) He means *Castel Nuovo*; for there are four in Naples.

A. D. 1494. our Batteries against the Castle of *Naples*, and began to fire upon it. The Marquis *di Pescara* was gone out of it, so there were only a few *Germans* in it. Had we sent but four of our Great Guns into the Island, we had certainly carried it; and from thence our Misfortunes return'd. Then all the rest of the Towns (which were not above four or five) would have follow'd of course; but we spent our Time in Gaiety, Entertainments, Dancing, and Tournaments, and grew so insolent and vain, we scarce look'd upon the *Italians* to be rational Creatures. Our King was crown'd, had his Lodgings in the Castle of *Capoana*, and sometimes went to *Mont-Imperial*: To the Subjects of that Kingdom he did many good Acts, and abated their Taxes; so that I believe of themselves the People would never have rebell'd (tho' they are naturally inconstant) had we but oblig'd some few of the Nobility; but they were slighted, and treated uncivilly at their very Entrance into the Gates. Those of the House of *Caraffi* (tho' Friends to the House of *Arragon*) were us'd the best; yet they escap'd not quite without Loss, for every one was depriv'd of his Offices and Estate; and the Partizans of the House of *Anjou* far'd a great deal worse than the Creatures of *Arragon*. Orders were sent into the County of *Merillano*, and the President *Gannay*, and the Seneschal (lately made Duke of *Nola*, and Grand Chamberlain of that Kingdom) were suspected to have taken Money for it: By those Orders every one was to be confirm'd in his Possession, only the Partizans of the House of *Anjou* were to be excluded, unless they could make good their Titles by Law; and for such as had enter'd of their own accord (as the Count

The Errors  
committed  
by the  
French  
in the Con-  
quest of  
*Naples*.



*di Celano*) they were to be ejected by Force. A. D. 1494.  
All the Estates and Offices were conferr'd upon two or three *French-men*, and all the Stores of Provision in the Castle of *Naples* (which were found to be very considerable, upon the taking it) were given to any Man that ask'd, with the King's Knowledge and Consent.

During these Transactions, the *Germans* capitulated, and deliver'd up the Castle; keeping all the Goods that were in it (to a vast Value) to themselves. Another Castle called *Castel del Ovo* was taken by Storm; by which it may be perceiv'd, that what was done was not so much by the Conduct or Dexterity of the Agents, as by the Providence of God; but the great Faults that were committed, were the Works of Man puff'd up by Vain-glory, and unwilling to acknowledge from whence their Success and Honour proceeded; and their Misfortune, the pure Product of their own depraved Nature and Experience: So that their Fortune chang'd as suddenly and visibly as the Day rises in *Norway* or *Island*, where the Days in Summer are longer than in other Parts; and one Day is scarce shut in, but within a Quarter of an Hour after the next begins to dawn. In the same manner a wise Man might have observ'd the Face of their good Fortune alter, and that Enterprize miscarry, (which if it had been ascrib'd to the true Manager of it) would have contributed mightily to the Honour and Advantage of all Christendom; for the *Turkish* Empire had been as easily shaken as *Alphonso's* Kingdom; that Emperor being still alive, who was a Man of no Reputation nor Courage, and his Brother in our King's hands (tho' he liv'd but few Days after the Cardinal of *Valenza* made his Escape, and

A. D. was suppos'd to have been poison'd) and the  
 1494. Sultan dreaded him above all the Persons in the  
 World ; besides, in the very Heart of his Em-  
 pire, there were Millions of Christians ready to  
 take up Arms ; and from *Otranto* to *Apollonia*  
 was not above sixty Miles, and from *Apol-*  
*lonia* to *Constantinople* about eighteen Days Jour-  
 ney, as I have been inform'd by those that have  
 often travell'd between those Places, and in all the  
 way not above two or three strong Towns, the  
 rest having been dismantled. The Countries  
 that lie between are *Albania*, *Sclavonia*, and  
*Greece*, all of 'em very populous, and acquainted  
 with the Fame and Character of our King by  
 their Correspondents in *Venice* and *Apuglia*, to  
 whom they wrote constantly, and expected no-  
 thing but their Directions to rebel. The King  
 sent thither to them the Arch-Bishop of *Durazzo*,  
 who was an *Albanian* born, and discoursing with  
 Multitudes of the Children and Grand-children  
 of several Great Lords (as of *Scanderbeg*, one  
 Son of the old Emperor of *Constantinople*, seve-  
 ral of the Nephews of the Lord *Constantine*, at  
 present Governor of *Montferrat*, and Nephews  
 or Cousins to the King of *Servia*) he found them  
 all inclinable to revolt. In *Thessaly* above five  
 thousand Men would have appear'd, and *Scutari*  
 would have been surpriz'd, which I under-  
 stood by my Intelligence, and from the Mouth  
 of the Lord *Constantine*, who lay conceal'd  
 several Days in my House at *Venice*, and cer-  
 tainly he had reason ; for *Macedonia* and *Thes-*  
*saly*, which formerly belong'd to *Alexander* the  
 Great, were his Inheritance. *Apollonia* is situ-  
 ated in them ; *Scutari* and *Croia* are not far off :  
 In his time his Father or Uncle mortgag'd them  
 to the *Venetians*, who lost *Croia*, and *Scutari* was  
 surren-

A favou-  
 rable Op-  
 portunity  
 of ruining  
 the Turk-  
 ish Empire  
 neglected.

surrender'd to the *Turk* upon Articles of Peace. A. D. 1494.  
The said Lord *Constantine* was at that time within three Leagues; and the Enterprize had been begun, had not the Arch-Bishop of *Durazzo* staid at *Venice* some time after *Constantine's* Departure. I press'd him hard to depart, for I thought him a Person that could not keep a Secret long; and he went up and down boasting, that he was about an Affair which would make him talk'd of all Christendom over, and eternize his Name for ever. By ill Fortune the very Day that the *Venetians* had News of the Death of the *Turk's* Brother, whom the Pope had deliver'd to our King; the very same Day they resolv'd to give notice of it to the *Sultan* by one of their Secretaries: and being assur'd, that whoever brought the first News would be certain of a great Reward, they order'd that no Vessel should pass between the two Castles in the Night, (which Castles commanded the Mouth of their Gulf) to prevent which they posted Guards at both of them, being fearful of nothing so much as the small Vessels, and *Grips* as they call them, of which there are great Numbers in the Port of *Albania*, and their Islands in *Greece*. The poor Arch Bishop happening that very Night to set out upon the Lord *Constantine's* Enterprize, and carrying along with him abundance of Swords, Bucklers, and Javelins, for the use of his Confederates who wanted 'em; as he pass'd between the two Castles, he was stopp'd and taken, and himself and Servants secur'd in one of them; but the Vessel had leave to go on. They search'd him, and found Letters about him that discover'd the whole Plot; and the Lord *Constantine* has told me since, that the *Venetians* sent immediate Notice to all the *Turkish* Garrisons that



A. D. 1494. were near, and an Express to the *Grand Seignior* himself; so that had it not been for the *Grip*, which they suffer'd to pass, (whose Master was an *Albanian*, that gave him notice) the Lord *Constantine* had been taken; but he escap'd by Sea, and got away into *Apuglia*.

The Venetians grow jealous of the Power of the French.

### CHAP. XV.

*A long Digression of the Author's concerning the State and Government of the Venetians; and of the Transactions which he saw and observ'd during his Residence in that City, as Ambassador from the King of France.*

The Occasion of the Author's Embassy to Venice, and the Instructions the King gave him.

**I**T is now high time for me to say something of the *Venetians*; and of the Occasion of my being sent thither in an Embassy, while the King was employ'd in his Affairs at *Naples*. I was sent from *Asti* to return them Thanks for the civil and obliging Answers they had given to two former Ambassadors from his Majesty, and to endeavour, if possible, to continue them in his Friendship, and to cultivate a good Understanding with them: for he saw their Power and Conduct was more like to disturb him than any other in *Italy*. The Duke of *Milan* hasten'd my Dispatch, and wrote to his Resident there (where he has constantly one) to assist me, and give me Instructions to whom I should apply my self. His Ambassador had an Allowance from that Senate of a hundred Ducats a Month, his Lodgings

ings well furnish'd, and three Gondolas to carry him about the Town without a Farthing of Expence; and the *Venetian* Ambassador has the same at *Milan*, excepting the Boats; for there they visit on Horse-back, and at *Venice* in Boats. In my Journey thither I pass'd by several of their Cities, as *Brescia*, *Verona*, *Vincenza*, *Padua*, and other Places. They treated me very civilly where-ever I came, in honour to the Person who sent me, and came out to meet me in great Bodies, with their *Podestate*, and their Captain; not that both of them came out together, for the Captain came no farther than the Gate. When I was entred the Town, I was conducted to my Lodgings; the Master of the House was commanded that I should want nothing, and my whole Charges were born, and mighty good Words into the Bargain; yet if you compute what is of necessity to be given to the Drums, Trumpets, and the Officers in those Ceremonies, the Ambassador will be found to be but little a Saver; but however my Reception was honourable. The Day that I made my Entry into *Venice*, they sent to meet me as far as *Liccias*, which is five Miles from *Venice*; there they leave the Boats, which bring them down the River from *Padua*, and put themselves into little Boats covered with Tapestry very neat, with fair Carpets within, and Velvet Cushions to sit upon. To this Place they come from *Venice* by Sea, as being the next Place to it upon the *Terra Firma*; but the Sea, (unless agitated by some Storm) is very calm, which is the Reason of their great Plenty of all sorts of Fish. I was extremely surpriz'd at the Situation of this City, to see so many Churches, Monasteries and Houses, and all in the Water, and the

A. D.

1494.

The Situation, Populousness and Magnificence of Venice.

A. D. 1494. the People no other Passage up and down the Streets but in Boats, of which I believe they have near thirty thousand, but they are very small. About the City within less than the Compass of half a *French* League there are seventy Religious Houses both of Men and Women; all situated in little Islands, very beautiful and magnificent both in Building and Furniture, with fair Gardens belonging to them, without reckoning those in the City, where there are the four Orders of Mendicants, seventy odd Parishes, besides several Fraternities; and indeed it is almost incredible to behold so many stately Churches in the Sea.

I was met and complimented at *Liccia* by five and twenty Gentlemen richly dress'd in their Silks and Scarlet; they receiv'd me with abundance of Civility, and conducted me to *St. Andrew's* Church, which was near the Town, where the same Number of Gentlemen met and complimented me. They were accompanied by the Ambassadors of *Milan* and *Ferrara*, and after they had made another Speech to me, I was conducted into other larger Boats, which they call'd *Plats*, two of which were cover'd with Crimson Sattin, and spread with Tapestry at the Bottom, big enough to hold forty Persons; and placing me between the two Ambassadors (the Middle being the most honourable Place in *Italy*) I was conducted through the longest Street, which they call the *Grand Canal*, so wide that the Gallies do frequently cross one another, and I have seen Vessels of four hundred Tun or more ride at Anchor just by the Houses. It is the fairest and best built Street I think in the World, and goes quite through the City; the Houses are very large



large and lofty, and built of Stone, the old ones are all painted; those of about an hundred Years standing are fac'd with white Marble from *Istria*, which is about a hundred Miles from *Venice*, and in-laid with *Porphyry* and *Serpentine*. Within they have most of them two Chambers at least, with gilt Ceilings, rich Chimny-pieces, Bedsteads of Gold Colour, their Portals of the same, and gloriously furnish'd. In short, it is the most magnificent City that I have seen, the most respectful to all Ambassadors and Strangers, governs it self with the greatest Wisdom, and serves God with the most Solemnity; so that tho' in other things they may be faulty, I believe God blesses them for the Reverence they shew in the Service of the Church. In the Company of these 50 Gentlemen I was convey'd to *St. George's*, (which is an Abbey of Reform'd Black Monks) where I had an Apartment prepar'd for me. The next Morning they came to wait on me again, and conducted me to the Senate, where I deliver'd my Credentials to the *Doge*, who presides in all their Councils, and is honour'd as a King: All Letters are address'd to him, but of himself he cannot do much; yet he has greater Authority than any of his Predecessors had, for he had been Duke above twelve Years; and I found him a prudent Man, of great Experience in the Affairs of *Italy*, and civil and courteous in his Person. The first Day of my Arrival was spent in receiving their Compliments, and viewing three or four Chambers in the Duke's Palace; in which the Ceilings, Beds and Portals were all richly gilt, the Apartments were very fine, but the Court is not large. The Duke from his own Chamber can hear Mass at the High Altar in the Chappel of *St. Mark*, which for a Chap-  
pel,

A. D.

1494.

A. D. 1494. pel, is the most magnificent Piece of Building in the Universe, being built of *Mosaic Work*, of which they pretend to be the Inventers; and indeed it is a Trade amongst them, as I have seen. In this Chappel their Treasure (so much talk'd of) is kept, and intended only for the Decoration of their Churches; there are twelve or fourteen Ballais Rubies, the largest I ever saw, one of them weighs seven, the other eight hundred Carrats, but both of them unpolish'd; there are twelve other Stones in Cases of Gold, the Edges and Forepart set richly with very fine Jewels; there are also twelve Crowns of Gold, wherewith antiently upon certain Festivals in the Year, 12 Women of that City were crown'd, and being styl'd and attended as Queens, they pass'd in great Pomp and Solemnity through all these Churches and Islands; but at length certain Thieves from *Istria* and *Friuli* (which are not far off) skulking about those Islands, took their Opportunity, and surpriz'd most part of the Women of the City: Their Husbands pursu'd, overtook and recover'd them; upon which they offer'd up their Crowns to *St. Mark*, and founded a Chappel, to which the Senate repairs every Year upon the Day of their Victory. There is great Store of rich Ornaments for the Church, several fair Pieces of Gold, many fine Amethysts and Aggats, and some Emeralds. But this is not a Treasure of equal Value with ready Money, and indeed they have not much of that kind of Treasure; for the Duke told me in the Senate-House, that it is a Capital Crime among them to mention any such thing as a Treasure of that nature; and they have reason, lest it might cause Dissention among them. After they had shew'd me their Treasure, I was carry'd

*A Description of the Chappel and Treasury of St. Mark.*

carried to see their Arsenal, where their Gallies are equipp'd, and all things necessary provided for their Navies; which perhaps is the finest in the World, and under the best Order and Regulation. A. D. 1494.

In short, I resided there eight Months at their Expence, and all the other Ambassadors who were there did the same; in which time I can assure you I found them so wise, and so intent upon the enlarging their Territories, that if it be not prevented in time, all the neighbouring States may lament it too late: for since our King's Expedition into *Italy*, which taught 'em the Use of Artillery, they are much more dexterous and skilful in attacking, and defending themselves, than formerly; for they are still at War with him, and yet they have extended their Dominions, and lent Money upon seven or eight Cities in *Apuglia*, which I am not sure will ever be restor'd. Besides, at the King's first coming they did not imagine Towns could have been taken so easily (contrary to their Custom) nor in so short a time; but since they have been better instructed in the Art of War, have fortified their Towns very strongly, and other Commonwealths have done the same. 'Tis not to be expected that they should arrive to the Perfection and Grandeur of the old Romans, for their Bodies are not so able to bear the Fatigues of War, neither are they of such a martial Genius; for they never make War upon the Continent in their own Persons, as the Romans did; but they send their *Proveditori*, and their Officers, with their General, to furnish him with Provisions, and assist him in his Councils of War. But their Naval Expeditions are wholly manag'd by their own People; their Fleet,

*The Venetians do not employ their own Subjects in their Land Expeditions, but hire foreign Troops to serve them in their Wars.*



A. D. 1494. Fleet, both Gallies and Ships, being mann'd with their own Subjects, and commanded by their own Nobility. Another great Advantage they have by not going in Person to the Wars upon the *Terra Firma*, and that is, there is no Man of that Boldness or Interest, as to dare to make any Attempt upon the Government, as they did in *Rome*; which is great Wisdom, and prevents many Civil Contentions, against which they have provided several Ways, and all very wisely. They have no Tribunes of the People, as they had in *Rome* (and those Tribunes were in part the Cause of its Destruction;) the People among them are of no Authority, consulted in no Affair of State, and incapable of bearing any Office; for all their Officers, except the Secretaries, are chosen out of the Gentry, and besides they are generally Strangers. *Titus Livius* has acquainted them perfectly with the Defects of the *Roman* Government, they have his History in great Esteem, and his Bones are preserv'd in their Palace at *Padua*; so that for these and many other Reasons which I observ'd amongst them, I do once more affirm, that they are in a fair way to be a very powerful People hereafter.

But to come to the Business of my Embassy: It was to thank them for their civil Answers, which they had given to two of our King's Ambassadors, who had been sent to them before; by which Answers, he was encourag'd to go on boldly in his Enterprize; and all this pass'd before his Majesty left *Asti*. I gave them a large Remonstrance of the old Alliances between the Kings of *France* and their Republick, and offer'd them *Brindisi* and *Otranto*, upon condition they would engage to restore them, when my Master should

should deliver them two better Towns in *Greece*. A. D. 1494.  
 They spoke very honourably both of him and his Affairs; for they did not imagine he would have proceeded so far. As to the Offer which I made them, they reply'd, that they were his Friends and Well-wishers, and would not permit him to purchase their Alliance, (for our King had not yet these Towns in his Power) they told me that they were not altogether unprovided for War, if they thought fit to engage; but they were resolv'd not to do it, tho' the *Neapolitan* Ambassadors sollicitated it daily, and offer'd them very advantageous Terms. King *Alphonso* (who then reign'd) confess'd he had behav'd himself very ill towards them; and laid before them the ill Consequences of our Master's succeeding in his Designs. The *Turk* on the other hand sent an Ambassador immediately to them, (and I saw him several times) who at the Pope's Request threaten'd them heavily, if they did not declare War against our King. They gave fair Answers to all the Ambassadors; but they had no Apprehension of us at that time, and did but laugh at our Expedition. The Duke of *Milan* told them by his Ambassador, that they should not concern themselves in this Affair, for he knew how to send our King back again, without getting any Footing in *Italy*; and he sent the same Message to *Peter de Medicis*, as he told me afterwards. But when they and the Duke of *Milan* saw he had got those Towns of the *Florentines* in his possession, and especially *Pisa*; they began to grow jealous of his Designs, and to contrive how they might hinder him from advancing farther; but their Consultations were tedious, and in the mean time his Majesty's Affairs went prosperously on. However Messengers pass'd con-

A. D. constantly from one to the other, and the King  
 1494. of *Spain* began to be afraid of his *Isles of Sicily*  
 Several and *Sardinia*. The King of the *Romans* began  
 Embassies also to be jealous of the Imperial Crown, upon  
 to Venice, which he was persuaded by some Persons that  
 to per- our King had a Design, and that he had request-  
 suade the ed it of the Pope; but there was nothing in it.  
 Republic For these Reasons the two Kings sent their for-  
 to enter mal Ambassadors to *Venice* during my Residence  
 into an there. The King of the *Romans* being their  
 Alliance Neighbour, first sent the Bishop of *Trent* as the  
 against chief in that Embassy, and with him there were  
 Charles two Gentlemen, and a Doctor at Law; they  
 VIII. were receiv'd with great Ceremony and Re-  
 spect, entertain'd as handsomly as my self, had  
 ten Ducats a Day allow'd them for their Ex-  
 pence, and the Charge of their Horses (which  
 were left at *Trevi*) born besides. Not long after  
 this there arriv'd a Person of Quality from  
*Spain*, with a numerous Retinue, and in a very  
 splendid Equipage; who was receiv'd as the o-  
 ther, and his Charges also born. The Duke of  
*Milan*, besides the Ambassador he had there al-  
 ready, sent the Bishop of *Coma*, and Seignior  
*Francisco Bernardino Visconti*. They began to  
 have private Conferences in the Night, and at  
 first by their Secretaries; for they durst not de-  
 clare publicly against the King, (especially the  
 Duke of *Milan* and the *Venetians*,) not knowing  
 what the Success of this Confederacy might be.  
 The Duke of *Milan's* Ambassadors made me a  
 Visit, brought me Letters from their Master,  
 and told me their coming was in return of two  
 Ambassadors which the *Venetians* had sent to  
*Milan*, whereas the Custom was only to have a  
 Resident there, and at last they had no more:  
 But all this was but Artifice and Cunning; for  
 they



they all came on purpose to make an Alliance against our King, and so many secret Cabals could not be carried on long, without being known. They ask'd me if I did not know what was the Cause of the coming of the Ambassadors from the Two Kings, that they might give their Master an Account of it. But I was inform'd before (both from the Servants, Ambassadors, and others) that the *Spanish* Ambassador pass'd through *Milan* in Disguise, and that the *Germans* were wholly manag'd by the Duke. Besides, I had notice that the *Neapolitan* Ambassadors deliver'd several Packets of Letters hourly from their Master, (for all this was before our King's Departure from *Florence*.) I was at some Charge for my Intelligence, but what I had, I could depend on. I had notice of the Treaty that was on foot, and what were the first Proposals that were made, but not agreed to; for in such consultations the *Venetians* are very long. For these Reasons, and seeing the Alliance go on, I would not pretend Ignorance; but answer'd the *Milan* Ambassador, that since they carry'd things so secretly, I would let them know, that my Master would not lose the Friendship of the Duke of *Milan*, if there was a Possibility of preserving it; that I would acquit my self as an Ambassador, and excuse whatever ill Reports might have been made to the Duke of *Milan* against my Master: that the Duke, I did presume, was misinform'd, and that he would act wisely to consider, (before he lost the Recompence of so great a Service as he had already done the King) that the Kings of *France* did not use to be ungrateful; that a rash or inconsiderate Word ought not to break a Friendship that was of such Importance to both of them; and then I desir'd that they would inform me of their Grievances,

A. D.

1494.

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sultations.

A. D. 1494. vances, that I might acquaint my Master with them before they proceeded any farther. They swore to me all of them, and wish'd many Imprecations, if they had any such Thoughts; but they did but equivocate, for they came thither on purpose to negotiate this Alliance.

The next Morning I went to the Senate to expostulate with them about it, and to say what I thought proper in the Affair; among other things I told them, that by their Alliance with my Master, and their former Alliance with his Father, it was mutually provided that neither should support the Enemies of the other; and that therefore this new League that was so much talk'd of, could not be entertain'd by them, but by Infraction of the former. I was desir'd to withdraw, and being call'd in again by and by, the Duke told me, that I ought not to believe all the flying Reports of the Town; and that in *Venice* all People had the liberty of saying what they pleas'd. However he assur'd me they never had any thoughts of entring into an Alliance against the King, nor ever had heard of it; that their Designs were quite contrary, and rather to make a League between my Master, the two other Kings, and all *Italy*, against the *Turk*, and that each might bear his Proportion in the Charge of the War; and that if in *Italy* there should be any State or Prince that refus'd to pay his Share, that the King and they should join to compel him to do it. As to the War in which my Master was at present engag'd, they told me that they would endeavour to make an honourable Peace for him; and the Terms which they propos'd were, that my Master should accept of a good Sum of ready Money, which they would advance upon the Caution of cer-  
tain

tain Towns in *Apuglia* (which are now in their possession;) that the Kingdom of *Naples* should be held of him by the Pope's Consent, and pay him an annual Tribute; and that my Master should keep three Towns in his Hands as a Security. I wish to God he had accepted those advantageous Offers. I reply'd, that I had no Instructions to enter into any such Treaty: I desir'd that they would not be over-hasty in the Conclusion of their Alliance, that I might have time to acquaint my Master with their Proceedings, and receive his Orders; requesting (as I had done to the other) that they would acquaint me with their Jealousies, and not conceal them as the Ambassadors of *Milan* had done. Then they plainly told me, that they were not pleas'd with the King's having seiz'd upon the Pope's Towns, much less with what he had taken from the *Florentines*, and particularly *Pisa*; alledging that my Master had written to several Places, and to them among the rest, that he would meddle with nothing in *Italy* but the Kingdom of *Naples*, and that having conquer'd that, he would undertake something against the *Turk*: That however, he seem'd desirous to get all he could conquer in *Italy*, and not meddle with the *Turk* at all. They told me also that the Duke of *Orleans* his Continuance at *Asti* was a great Terror to the Duke of *Milan*; and that the Ministers of the Duke of *Orleans* had threaten'd him highly: However they promis'd to conclude nothing before I had an Answer from my Master, or at least before a convenient Time to receive it was past; and they shew'd me more Respect than they did the Ambassadors of *Milan*. I acquainted his Majesty with every Particular, but his Answer was but cold; after which they had

A. D.

1494.



A. D. 1494. Conferences every Day; for they knew their Designs were discover'd. The King of *France* was at *Florence* in the mean time; and if he had met any Opposition at *Viterbo*, as was expected, they had sent Forces to *Rome*; or if King *Ferrand* had continu'd there, which they could not imagine he would have abandon'd; but when they saw he was retir'd, they began to be afraid: Yet the Ambassadors from the two Kings press'd them hard to come to some Resolution, declaring they would otherwise be gone; for they had been there four Months, every day soliciting the Senate; and I was as diligent in making an Interest against them.

When the *Venetians* understood that several Towns in *Italy* were surrender'd, and were inform'd of the King's being at *Naples*, they sent for me to tell me the News, and pretended to be extremely pleas'd with it; yet gave me to understand, that the Castle held out still against him; that there was a strong Garrison in it, and provided with every thing necessary for its Defence: and I could perceive they had great Hopes it would never be taken; upon which score they had consented the *Neapolitan* Ambassador should raise Forces in *Venice* to be sent to *Brindisi*, and were just upon the Conclusion of their League, when their Ambassadors acquainted them by Letter of the Surrender of the Castle of *Naples*. They sent for me again one Morning, and I found about fifty or sixty of 'em assembled in their Duke's Chamber, who was at that time ill of the Cholick. The Duke with a compos'd Countenance, or rather inclining to Joy, told me the News; but there was none in all the Company could counterfeit so well as himself: Some of them sat upon low Seats, with their

The great  
Consternation that  
the taking  
the Castle  
of Naples  
put the  
Venetians

their Elbows upon their Knees, and their Heads A. D. between their Hands ; others in other Postures, 1494. but all expressing great Sorrow at the Heart ; and I believe after the Battle of *Cannæ* there was not more Terror upon the Senators of *Rome* ; for not one of them had Courage enough to look upon me, or speak to me, but the Duke himself, which I thought was very strange. The Duke ask'd me whether the King my Master would observe now what he had always promis'd, and I always told 'em ? I assur'd 'em he made them certain Overtures ; and promis'd them to use my utmost Endeavours, by way of Mediation, in hopes by this means to pacify their Fears and Jealousies ; and then I took my Leave of 'em.

Their League as yet was neither broken off nor concluded ; but the *Germans* in their Passion pretended to be gone. The Duke of *Milan* would not consent to some of the Articles ; but at length he sent Instructions to his Ambassadors to dispatch, and in a short time the League was concluded. Whilst this Affair was in agitation, I wrote constantly to our King, advising him to a Peace, or else that he would continue in that Kingdom, and provide himself better with Men and Money ; but if he did not approve of my Advice, that he would be pleas'd to make his Retreat towards *France*, before the Confederates had assembled their Forces ; and putting strong Garrisons into the chief Towns of *Italy*, would dismantle the rest. I wrote also to the Duke of *Orleans*, who was at *Asti*, but attended with his own Domesticks only, (for his Forces were with the King) that he would throw more Men into that Town, assuring him that he would suddenly be besieg'd in it. I sent likewise to the Duke of *Bourbon* (whom the King had left to be his

A. D. Lieutenant in *France*) to send what Forces he  
 1494. could spare to reinforce the Garrison of *Asti*; for if that were lost, no Supplies could be sent to the King. I gave notice of it to the Marchioness of *Monferrat*, who (was true to the *French*, and a great Enemy to the Duke of *Milan*) that she might be ready to assist the Duke of *Orleans* with her Forces, if there should be Occasion; for the taking of *Asti* would be the Loss of the two Marquisates of *Montferrat* and *Saluzzo*.

The specious  
 Pre-  
 tence of  
 the Alliance  
 against  
 Charles  
 VIII.

The League was concluded one Night very late; the next Morning I was sent for to the Senate, and something earlier than formerly. As soon as I came thither, and had taken my Seat, the Duke told me, that in honour to the Holy Trinity they had enter'd into an Alliance with the Pope, the Kings of the *Romans*, and *Castile*, and the Duke of *Milan*, upon three principal Ends; one was to defend Christendom against the *Turk*; the second for the Defence of *Italy*; and the third for the Preservation of their Territories; which they desir'd I would notify to the King my Master. They were in all about a hundred, or more, look'd very gay, their Noses toss'd up into the Air, and no such Sadness in their Countenances, as upon the Surrender of the Castle at *Naples*. They also told me that they had written to their Ambassadors, who were attending our King, to take their leave, and come to *Venice*. One of their Ambassadors Names was *Dominick Loredan*, and the other *Dominick Trevisan*. I was extremely troubled and concern'd for my Master's Person, as being fearful that he and his whole Army were in great Danger; for I thought the Confederates were much forwarder than they were, (as they also thought themselves) and that some German Troops had been near at hand.



hand. If it had been so, the King could never have got out of *Italy*. I resolv'd with my self to speak little in my Passion, but they provok'd me beyond the Bounds I had set my self: I told them that the Night before I had given my Master Notice of their Alliance (as I had done often) and that he wrote me word he had News of it before both from *Milan* and *Rome*. The Duke seem'd to be surpriz'd at what I had written concerning the Alliance the Night before; for there are no People in the World so jealous, nor keep their Counsels so secret as they; and upon bare suspicion they many times imprison their dearest Friends. Upon that Consideration I told them, that I had written to the Dukes of *Orleans* and *Bourbon*, to take care to reinforced the Garrison of *Asti*; and said so, in hopes to discourage them from attempting to surprize it, which they might certainly have done, had they been as ready as they pretended; for it was in a weak Posture of Defence a long time after. They reply'd, That they had no Intentions against the King; that what they had done, or should do, would be only in Defence of themselves; and they could not suffer, that my Master should amuse all *Europe* with his fair Words, as he had done; and that when he had promis'd to concern himself with nothing but the Kingdom of *Naples*, and then to turn his Arms against the *Turk*, he should falsify his Word, and quite contrary, possess himself of what he could in the Territories both of the *Florentines* and the Pope, and endeavour to destroy the Duke of *Milan*. To which I answer'd, That the Kings of *France* had been so far from defrauding the Church of any of their Revenues, that on the contrary they had always augmented them, and defended

A. D.

1494.

A. D. 1494. their Rights : That those could not be the Reasons for their League, as they pretended ; but that they had a Desire to involve *Italy* in new Troubles, to make their Advantages out of them, and that I thought they intended to do it. They resented that Expression of mine, as I was inform'd afterwards ; however it prov'd true, as appear'd by what King *Ferrand* engag'd to them in *Apuglia*, to assist him against us. I rose up to have been gone, but they made me sit down again ; and the Duke ask'd me, if I had any Overtures of Peace to make, because the Day before I had said something to that purpose ; but that was in case they would have protracted the Conclusion of the League for fifteen Days longer, that I might have had time to have writ to his Majesty, and have receiv'd his Answer. After this I retir'd to my Lodgings, and they sent for the rest of the Ambassadors one after another. At my coming out of the Senate I met the *Neapolitan* Ambassador in a new Gown, and very gay ; and indeed he had Reason, for this was a lucky Turn of Affairs for him. After Dinner all the Ambassadors of the League met together upon the Water (which in *Venice* is all their Recreation) the whole Number of their Boats (which are provided at the Senate's Charge, and proportion'd to every Man's Retinue) were about forty, every one of them adorn'd with the Arms of their respective Masters ; and in this Pomp they pass'd under my Window, with their Trumpets and other Instruments of Musick. The Ambassadors of *Milan*, (at least one of them) who had often visited me, and was my particular Acquaintance, would take no manner of notice of me now. For three Days together I and my Domesticks kept

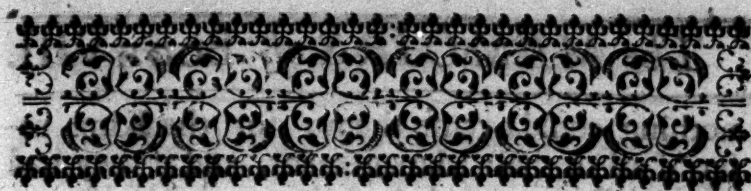
kept within doors ; tho' indeed I cannot say A. D.  
 either they or I were affronted all the while. 1494  
 At Night there were extraordinary Fire-works  
 upon the Turrets, Steeples, and Tops of the Ambassadors Houses, Multitudes of Lights were plac'd, and the Cannon all round the City were fir'd. I was in a cover'd Boat rowing by the Bank's side, to see this triumphal Sight, about Ten a Clock at Night ; especially before the Ambassadors Houses, where the Hubbub was extraordinary. But this was not the Day in which the Peace was proclaim'd ; for the Pope had sent to them to defer it for some Days, till *Palm-Sunday*, at which time he had order'd that every Prince in whose Dominions it was publish'd, and all the Ambassadors then with him, should carry an Olive-Branch in their Hand in token of their Alliance and Peace ; and that upon the same Day it should be publish'd both in *Germany* and *Spain*. At *Venice* they made a Gallery or large Scaffold of Wood, a good height above the Ground, (as they were wont at the Inauguration of their Dukes) which reach'd from the Palace to the End of the Piazza of *St. Mark* ; upon which (after Mass was sung by the Pope's Nuncio, and all People absolv'd who were present at the Solemnity) they march'd in Procession ; the Senate and the Ambassadors all very splendidly dress'd, several of them in Crimson-Velvet Gowns, which the Senate presented them, especially the *Germans*, and all their Train in new Gowns, but a little of the shortest. After the Procession was ended, a great many Pageants and Pictures were exhibited to the People ; as first of all *Italy* in one, and then the several Kings and Princes, and the Queen of *Spain*. At their Return, at a *Porphyry-stone*,  
where



A. D. 1494. where such things are usually done, Proclamation was made, and the Alliance publish'd. There was at that time a *Turkish* Ambassador, who look'd privately through a Window, and saw the Solemnity: He had his Dispatch, but would needs stay to see this Formality, and at Night (by the Assistance of a *Greek*) he gave me a Visit, and staid four Hours in my Chamber; and his great Desire was to cultivate a Friendship betwixt his Master and mine. I was twice invited to this Feast, but desir'd to be excus'd; yet I staid a Month after in the Town, and was all the while civilly entertain'd, as before the Publication of this Alliance. At length I was recall'd, and having had my Audience of Leave, they gave me a Pass-port, and conducted me to *Ferrara* at their own Expence. The Duke of *Ferrara* came in Person to meet me, and entertain'd me two Days very handsomly at his own Charge. The same Civility I receiv'd at *Bologna* from *John Bentivoglio*, and being sent for to *Florence*, I continu'd there in expectation of my Master's coming, in the Relation of whose Affairs I shall now proceed.

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THE



THE  
MEMOIRS  
OF  
PHILIP de COMINES,  
Lord of *Argenton*,  
Containing the principal Exploits and  
Transactions of CHARLES VIII.

BOOK VIII.

CHAP. I.

*Of the Order in which the King left his  
Affairs in the Kingdom of Naples upon  
his Return into France.*



TO continue my *Memoirs*, and A. D.  
for your better Information, 1494.  
we must return to our Dis-  
course of the King; who from *The ill*  
his first Arrival at Naples to his *Condition*  
Departure, minded nothing *in which*  
but his Pleasures, and his Mi- *Charles*  
nisters nothing but their own Advantage. His *VIII. left*  
Youth might excuse him in some Measure, but *his Affairs*  
*in the*  
*Kingdom*  
*of Naples.*  
nothing

A. D. 1494. nothing could excuse them ; for the King re-  
 ferr'd all to their Management, and if they had  
 had the Discretion but to have advis'd him to  
 have put strong Garrisons into three or four of  
 the chief Castles, and furnish'd them well with  
 Provisions ; nay if it had been only the Castle  
 of *Naples*, (whose Magazines and Furniture were  
 given away, and imbezled as you have heard)  
 the Kingdom of *Naples* had been his at this day ;  
 for if he had been Master of that Castle the  
 Town would never have revolted, nor by conse-  
 quence the Kingdom. Upon the Conclusion of  
 this Alliance, he assembled all his Forces toge-  
 ther, and order'd five hundred *French* Men at  
 Arms, two thousand *Swiss*, and some *French* Foot  
 for the Guard of the Kingdom ; and with the  
 rest he resolv'd to march back into *France* by the  
 same way he came, while the Confederates were  
 as busie to stop him. The King of *Spain* had  
 sent, and was still sending his (a) Caravels into  
*Sicily*, tho' but few Men on board 'em. How-  
 ever, before our King's Departure, they had  
 garrison'd and furnish'd with Ammunition and  
 Provisions *Rheggio* in *Calabria*, which is the next  
 Town to *Sicily*. I had often acquainted my  
 Master with their Designs of sending Supplies  
 thither, for the Ambassador of *Naples* had told  
 me so, supposing they had been there already ;  
 and if the King had sent any Forces thither in  
 time, he would certainly have taken the Castle,  
 and the Town had declar'd for him before. For  
 want of sending thither, they landed Forces at  
*Mantia* and *Tropea*. The Towns-men in *Otran-*

(a) A sort of Vessels with Sails and Oars much us'd in  
 the *Mediterranean*.



to and *Apuglia* had set up our King's Colours ; but being inform'd of the new Alliance, and considering how near Neighbours they were both to *Brindisi* and *Gallipoli*, and how difficult it would be to furnish themselves with Troops, they pulled them down again, and erected the Standard of *Arragon*: and Don *Frederick* being at *Brindisi* supplied them with a Garrison. There was an universal Change in the Minds of the People through the whole Kingdom ; and Fortune, which had been so propitious but two Months before, began now to frown upon us, both in Relation to the Alliance, the King's Departure, and the great want in which he left the Kingdom, and that rather in Respect of Officers than Soldiers. The supream Care was committed to Monsieur de *Montpensier*, of the House of *Bourbon*, a brave Soldier and a fine Gentleman, but his Valour was greater than his Wisdom ; besides, he was so intolerable lazy, he would never rise till Noon. In *Calabria* he left the Lord d' *Aubigny*, a Scotchman, (a brave and worthy Person) to command in chief. The King had made him Constable of that Kingdom, and given him (as I said before) the County of *Aen*, and the Marquisat of *Squillazzo*. At his first coming thither the King had made the Seneschal of *Beaucaire*, *Stephen de Vers*, Governor of *Cajeta*, Duke of *Nola*, Lord High Chamberlain, and all the Money in that Kingdom pass'd thro' his Hands, he took more upon him than he was able to perform ; yet he was very desirous of keeping the Kingdom of *Naples*. The King created Don *Julian* of *Lorraine* a Duke, and made him Governor of *Saint Angelo*, in which Post he behav'd himself with a great deal of Honour and Reputation. He left *Gabriel de Montfaucon* at  
Man-

A. D.

1494.

A. D. *Manfredonia* ; a Person for whom the King had  
 1494. a great Esteem ; but he manag'd things impru-  
 dently there ; for tho' he found it well provided  
 with Corn, and every thing else, yet he deli-  
 ver'd it up in four Days for want of Provisions ;  
 and to all these the King gave great Estates in  
 Land, for several sold what-ever they met with-  
 all in the Castle : And it was reported, that *Ga-  
 briel* stole away in the Night, and left *William de  
 Ville-neuf* to defend the Town ; but being be-  
 tray'd and sold by some of his own Servants to  
*Frederick*, he was kept by him a long time in the  
 Gallies. He left *Taranto* to the Command of  
*George de Suilly*, who behav'd himself well, and  
 held it out, till he was forc'd by Famine to sur-  
 render, and then died there of the Plague. In  
*Aquila* he plac'd the Bailiff *de Vitry*, who dis-  
 charg'd his Duty as he ought to do ; and *Gra-  
 tian des Guerres* did the same in *Abruzzo* : He left  
 them very little Money, only Assignments upon  
 the Revenue, and of that but very little was ever  
 rais'd. The King took Care to make an hand-  
 som Provision for the Princes of *Salerno* and *Bisig-  
 nano*, who serv'd him faithfully, as long as it was  
 in their Power to do so. He also gratified the  
*Colonne* in what-ever they demanded, and gave  
 them and their Friends the Possession of about  
 thirty Towns ; which if they had defended as  
 they ought, and as they swore to do, they had  
 done his Majesty singular Service, and reap'd  
 the Honour and Advantage of it themselves ; for  
 I do not believe they had been so great in a hun-  
 dred Years before : But they had not Patience  
 to stay till the King had left *Italy*, but fell to ca-  
 balling. 'Tis true, they were engag'd with us  
 upon the Duke of *Milan's* Account, for they are  
 naturally *Gibelines* : However, they ought not  
 to

to have broken their Oaths, especially having A. D.  
been so civilly treated; besides, the King had 1494.  
oblig'd them farther than all this; for under  
Pretence of Friendship he carried Prisoners with  
him the Lord *Virgil Ursini*, and the Count *de Petil-*  
*lane*, and several others of the *Ursini*, who were  
their Enemies; which indeed was a little severe;  
for tho' they were Prisoners of War, yet the King  
knew they were to have had Pass-ports; for he  
had sign'd and intended it so himself, and de-  
clar'd his Resolution as to that Point to all Peo-  
ple: But his Intention was to carry them no far-  
ther than *Asti*, and then to dismiss them upon  
their Parole of Honour. This he did at the Re-  
quest of the *Colonna*; and yet before he could get  
thither, they revolted, and appear'd the first  
against him without the least Pretence or Oc-  
casion.



A. D.

1494.

## C H A P. II.

*Of the King's Departure from Naples, and his Return to Rome, from whence the Pope fled to Orvieto; of the Conference the King had with the Lord of Argenton, upon his Return from Venice; his Deliberation about the Restitution of the Florentine Towns, and the memorable Predictions of Friar Jerom of Florence.*

AS soon as the King had settled his Affairs as he design'd, he began his March with what Forces he could spare; which I believe were about nine hundred Men at Arms, (including his Guards) and 2500 *Swiss*, in all of his standing Army about seven thousand Men, besides about fifteen hundred more which followed the Camp, as Servants, and were able to bear Arms. The Count *de Petillane*, who had review'd them, and knew their Number better than I did, told me since the Battle, that they were nine thousand effective Men. The King bent his March directly towards *Rome*, (where his Holiness, having no Mind to attend him) determin'd to go to *Padua*, and put himself under the Protection of the *Venetians*, and Lodgings were assign'd him; but afterwards they chang'd their Minds, and both they and the Duke of *Milan* sent Forces to him to *Rome*, for the Defence of the Town, which arriv'd time enough; yet the Pope durst not stay, though the King had done him all imaginable

imaginable Honour and Service, and sent an A. D. Ambassador on purpose to desire him to stay: 1494. But he retir'd to *Orvieto*, and from thence to *Perusia*, leaving the Cardinals to attend his Majesty at *Rome*. The King was receiv'd very honourably by them, but he made no Stay among them, nor suffer'd the least Injury to be done to any body. From thence I was sent for to attend him at *Siena*, where I waited on his Majesty, who receiv'd me graciously. He ask'd me in a jesting Way, Whether the *Venetians* had sent any Forces to fall upon his Rear; for his Men were all young, and he thought no Troops were able to engage with them. I humbly replied, that upon my leaving *Venice*, the Senate inform'd me in the Presence of one of their Secretaries call'd *Loridano*, that they and the Duke of *Milan* would bring 40000 Men into the Field, not to molest him, but to defend themselves; and the same Day I set out from *Venice* they order'd one of their Proveditors who was employ'd against us, to inform me at *Padua*, that their Army should not pass such a River near (b) *Parma*, (which if I mistake not was call'd *Oglio*) unless his Majesty invaded the Duke of *Milan*; and the said Proveditor and I took pri-

(b) Instead of *Parma* we ought to read *Crema* or *Bergamo*; for the *Venetians* have no Territories near *Parma*; besides the River *Oglio* is not near *Parma*, and the *Pau* runs between *Parma* and that River: So that the *Venetians* were oblig'd to pass the *Pau* after their passing the *Oglio*, before they could have reach'd *Parma*. Perhaps the Author means a little Brook call'd in the Description of *Italy*, *Oceda*; and in *Blondus* *Ocha*; but indeed he speaks doubtfully of the Name.

A. D. 1494. vane Tokens and Directions how we might correspond with each other, if there should be any Occasion upon a Treaty of Peace; for I was unwilling to refuse any Overture of that Nature; because I knew not how my Master's Affairs might succeed. There was present at our Conference one Monsieur *Lewis Marceel*, who (as a kind of Treasurer) had that Year the Command of the (c) *Mots Viere*, and was sent by them to conduct me. There were besides in the Company some of the Marquis of *Mantua's* Servants, who carried him Money; but they were at a Distance, and heard nothing of our Discourse. From these or some body else I procur'd a List of the Confederate Army, their Horse, Foot, and *Estradiots*, and the chief Officers that commanded them all, but few about the King believ'd what I told him.

After the King had halted two Days at *Siena* to refresh his Troops, I earnestly press'd his Majesty to march, for the Enemy was not yet join'd, and I fear'd nothing till the *Germans* came up; and the King of the *Romans* was mighty busie in raising both Men and Money. But what-ever I said to the contrary, two things must be first solemnly debated in Council, which took up but a little Time. One was, whether he should restore all the *Florentine* Towns, and receive thirty Thousand Ducats, (which was an Arrear of a former Gift) and ninety Thousand more which

(c) 'Tis so in all the *French* Copies, but certainly it should be *Mont-veil*, in *Italian* *Monte-vecchio*, which is a certain Treasure set apart by the *Venetians* for the Payment of Interest due to the ancient Creditors of their Republick, as appears by the Book of *Donato Gianotti*.

they



they offer'd to lend him ; besides a Re-inforce-  
 ment of three hundred Men at Arms, (under the  
 Command of *Francisco Secco*, an experienc'd  
 and brave Commander, and one in whom the  
 King put great Confidence) and 2000 Foot to  
 secure his Passage into his own Kingdom. 'Twas  
 my Opinion, (and several others agreed with  
 me) that the King should restore all but *Leghorne*,  
 which he should keep till he had reach'd *Asti*.  
 If he had follow'd our Advice he would have  
 been able to have paid his Army, and had enough  
 to have brib'd the Enemy, and then might have  
 fought them as he pleas'd ; but we could not be  
 heard ; Monsieur de *Ligny* obstructed it, (who  
 was a young Gentleman, and Cousin-German  
 to the King) but he scarce knew why he did so,  
 unless it were in Compassion to the *Pisans*. The  
 other Point to be debated was set on foot by  
 Monsieur de *Ligny* himself, and propos'd in Coun-  
 cil by one *Gaucher de Tinteville*, and by a Party  
 in *Sienna*, who would needs have Monsieur de  
*Ligny* for their Governor ; for that Town was  
 divided into Factions, and govern'd the worst of  
 any in *Italy*. My Judgment was demanded first,  
 and I answer'd, that I thought it would be bet-  
 ter for the King to march forward, than to a-  
 muse himself with things of so little Importance,  
 which could not be of any Service to him a Week  
 to an end ; besides, that Town belong'd to the  
 Emperôr, and to dispose of it in that Manner,  
 was to pull the whole Empire about our Ears.  
 Every body gave in to my Opinion ; and yet it  
 was carried against us, and Monsieur de *Ligny*  
 was made their Governor, with large Promise  
 of a Revenue, but he never receiv'd any. Upon  
 this trifling Debate we stay'd six or seven Days ;  
 during which time the King diverted himself a-  
 mong

A. D. 1494. among the Ladies, having left in this Town above three hundred of his choicest Troops, to the great weakning of his Army. He advanc'd towards *Pisa* by the Way of *Poggio Bonzi*, a Castle belonging to the *Florentines*; but those who were left at *Siena* were driven out in a Month.

I had almost forgot to tell you that while I was at *Florence* in my Way to the King, I went to pay a Visit to a certain Friar call'd *Friar Jerom*, who by Report was a very holy Man, and had liv'd in a reform'd Convent fifteen Years: There went along with me one *John Francis*, a very prudent Person, and Steward of the King's Household. The occasion of my going to visit him, was upon the Account that he had always, both in the Pulpit and elsewhere, spoken much in the King's Favour, and his Words had kept the *Florentines* from confederating against us, for never any of his Profession had so much Authority in that Town. Whatever had been said or written to the contrary, he always affirm'd our King would come into *Italy*; that he should be sent by God himself to chastise the Tyranny of the Princes; and that nothing should be able to oppose him. He foretold likewise that the State of *Florence* should be dissolv'd on the very same Day that his Majesty enter'd the Town, and so it fell out; for *Peter de Medicis* was driven out that very Day. Many other things he presag'd long before they came to pass, as the Death of *Laurence de Medicis*; and he openly declar'd that he had it by Revelation; as likewise that the Reformation of the Church should be owing to the Sword. This is not yet accomplish'd; but it scap'd very narrowly, and he still maintains that it shall be. Many Persons blam'd him for pretending to Divine Revelations; but others believ'd

*The Prediction of Friar Jerom concerning the Expedition of Charles VIII. into Italy.*

liev'd him ; for my part I think him a good A. D.  
Man. I ask'd him whether our King would 1494.  
return safe into *France*, considering the great  
Preparations of the *Venetians* against him? of  
which he gave a better Account than I  
could, that lately came from *Venice*. He told  
me he would meet with some Difficulties by  
the Way, but he would overcome them all, and  
gain immortal Honour by it, tho' he had but a  
hundred Men in his Company ; for God who  
had conducted him thither, would guard him  
back again. But because he had not apply'd  
himself as he ought, to the Reformation of the  
Church, and because he had permitted his Sol-  
diers to rob and plunder the poor People, (as  
well those who had freely open'd their Gates to  
him as the Enemy who oppos'd him) therefore  
God had pronounc'd Judgment against him, and  
in a short time would execute it. However he  
bid me tell him, That if he would have Com-  
passion of the People, command his Army to do  
them no Wrong, and punish them when they  
did, as it was his Office to do, that then God  
would mitigate, if not revoke, his Sentence. He  
told me it would not be sufficient for him to  
plead, *He did them no Wrong himself*, and that he  
would meet him when he came, and tell him so  
from his own Mouth, and so he did ; and press'd  
hard for the Restitution of the *Florentine* Towns.  
When he mention'd the Sentence of God against  
him, the Death of the *Dauphin* came very fresh  
into my Mind ; for I knew nothing else that  
would touch the King so sensibly. This I have  
thought fit to record, to make it the more ma-  
nifest, that this whole Voyage was a Mystery  
conducted by God himself.



A. D.

1494.

## C H A P. III.

*Of the King's retaining Pisa, and several other Towns in his Hands, while the Duke of Orleans on the other side entered Novara, in the Dutchy of Milan.*

*The Petition of the poor Pisans.*

**W**HILE the King (as I said before) was at *Pisa*, the People of the Town, both Men and Women begg'd of us that for God's sake we would intercede for them to the King, that they might not again be subject to the Tyranny of the *Florentines*; who indeed treated them very barbarously, but they far'd as well as their Neighbours. *Pisa* and *Florence* had been at War three hundred Years, before the *Florentines* subdu'd them. These Supplications being deliver'd with Tears in their Eyes, wrought strangely upon our Soldiers; so that, forgetting what our King had promis'd and sworn before the Altar of *St. John* in *Florence*, they all unanimously (to the very Archers and *Swiss*) interpos'd in their behalf; and threaten'd all such as were for the King's keeping his Oath, and particularly the Cardinal of *St. Malo*, who in another Place I call'd General of *Languedoc*; and him I heard an Archer threaten my self, and others talk'd as boldly to the Marshal *de Giè*. The President *Gannay* for three Nights together durst not lie in his own Quarters; and the great Promoter of all this was the Count *de Ligny*. The *Pisans* made sad Complaints to the King, and mov'd us all to compassionate, tho' we had no Reason to relieve them.

them. One Day after Dinner, as the King was A. D. playing at Tables with the Lord *de Piennes*, and 1494. only two or three of the Gentlemen of the Bed-chamber waiting on him, forty arm'd Gentlemen of his Court enter'd the Room, and in the Name of the rest, the Son of *Sallezard* the elder made a Speech to the King in favour of the *Pisans*, and charging some of the Persons above-named of no less than betraying him; but the King reprimanded them severely, and there never after was any such thing.

Six or seven Days the King spent to no purpose at *Pisa*; and having alter'd the Garrison, he put into the Castle one (d) *Entragues*, a Servant to the Duke of *Orleans*, but an ill-humour'd Man; Monsieur *de Ligny* had recommended him to the King, and by his Interest a Detachment of the Infantry of *Berry* was left with him. This *Entragues* manag'd his Affairs so well (I suppose by his Money) that he was made Governor of *Pietra Sancta*, and another Town not far off, call'd *Motrone*; besides all which he had another Government at *Librefacto* near *Lucca*. The Castle of the Town of *Sarzana* was extremely well fortified, and by the Interest of Monsieur *de Ligny*, the Command of it was given to the Bastard of one *Roussi*, who was the Count's Servant. Another Castle call'd *Sarzanella* he put into the Hands of one of his own Domesticks; so that the King of *France* left great Bodies of his Forces in these Places, (tho' he will never have so much need of them again) and rejected the Assistance and Proffers of the *Florentines*, who upon his Refusal grew desperate, and yet at the same

(d) *Roffec de Balzac*, Lord of *Entragues* and *Dunes*.

A. D. 1494. time he had Intelligence that the Duke of Orleans had taken the City of *Novara*, from the D. of *Milan*, and was certain the *Venetians* would declare War against him ; for they had sent him Word, that if he invaded the D of *Milan*, they should be oblig'd by the Alliance they had lately made to assist him ; and their Army, which was numerous, was ready to take the Field. But you must understand, that just upon the Conclusion of the League, the Duke of *Milan* had a Design upon *Asti*, supposing he should have found no Troops in it. But my Letters prevented him, and hasten'd the Supplies which the Duke of *Bourbon* sent thither ; and first there arriv'd forty Lances of the Marshal de *Giè's* Troops, which were left behind in *France*, all very well appointed ; and after them five hundred Foot from the Marquis di *Saluzzo*. The Arrival of these Forces diverted the Duke of *Milan's* Army commanded by *Galeas di St. Severino*, who was posted at *Nom*, a Castle belonging to the said Duke, within two Miles of *Asti*. Sometime after, they were join'd by three hundred and fifty Men at Arms, with the Gentry of *Dauphinè*, and all the *Franck-Archers* of that County, and 2000 *Swiss* ; so that they were in all 7500 fighting Men. It was a prodigious Expence and Trouble to assemble these Forces, and when that was done they did not answer the End for which they were design'd ; for they were sent for to have assisted the King, and instead of that he was forc'd to support them. The King had written to the Duke of *Orleans* and the chief Officers, that they should attempt nothing upon the Duke of *Milan*, only have a Care to secure *Asti*, and come to meet him as far as the River *Tesino*, where they were to assist and favour his Passage, there being



ing no other River where he could be stopp'd; A. D.  
for the Duke of *Orleans* was left at *Asti*, and ne- 1494.  
ver went further with the King. However, not-  
withstanding the King's Orders to the contrary,  
he was so pleas'd with the Honour of having  
*Novara* deliver'd into his Hands, (which was but  
ten Leagues from *Milan*) that he could not con-  
tain, but enter'd it in a triumphal Manner, and  
the whole Ciry, both *Guelphs* and *Gibbelines*, re-  
ceiv'd him with all the Demonstrations of Joy i-  
maginable, and the Marchioness of *Montferrat*  
was a great Instrument in the Plot : The Castle  
held out two or three Days, but if he had gone  
or sent to *Milan*, where his Party was great,  
he had been receiv'd with more Joy (as I have  
been told by great Persons of that Dutchy) than  
at his own Castle at *Blois*; and the first three  
Days he might have done it with Ease, for the  
Duke of *Milan*'s Forces were at *Nom* near *Asti*  
when *Novara* was surpriz'd, and came not up  
till four Days after; but perhaps he durst not  
rely upon his Intelligence.

A. D.

1494.

## C H A P. IV.

*Of King Charles's dangerous Passage over the Mountains between Pisa and Sarzana; Of the Germans burning Pontremoli, and the Duke of Orleans's Behaviour at Novara, in the mean time.*

**F**ROM Siena the King was come to Pisa, as you have already heard, and from Pisa he march'd to Lucca, where he was well receiv'd by the Town, and stay'd with them two Days; and from thence to Pietra Sancta, where Monsieur Entragues was Governor, neither he himself, nor any that were about him having the least Fear or Apprehension of the Enemy. Yet he found great Difficulty in his March over the Mountains, betwixt Lucca and that Place, where there were several Passes very easie to have been defended by small Bodies of Foot, but the Confederates were not join'd as yet. Not far from Pietra Sancta on one side there is the Pass of Seierre or Salto della Cerva, and on the other that of Roc-taillè or Rotaio, with a deep Marsh at the Foot of it, over which we were forc'd to march upon a Causey, as if it had been thro' a standing Pool. This was the Pass of which I had heard so much Talk, and which I dreaded more than all the rest between Pisa and Pontrema; for a small Body of Troops with a Cart overturn'd in the midst of it, and two Pieces of Cannon, would have stopp'd our Passage, had our Army been never so numerous. From Pietra Sancta the King march'd to Sarzana, where

where the Cardinal of *St. Peter ad Vincula* met him, and offer'd (if he pleas'd to send some of his Forces thither) to make *Genoa* revolt to him. A. D. 1494. It was referr'd to a Council of Officers, among which I was one, and concluded by all that it should not be meddled with; for if the King got the Victory *Genoa* would surrender of course, if he lost it, it would do him no good, and this was the first time I ever heard them mention Fighting. Our Resolution was reported to the King, but for all that, he sent for the Lord de *Bresse*, since Duke of *Savoy*, the Lord (a) de *Beaumont de Polignac* my Brother-in-law, and the Lord (b) d' *Aubijoux* of the House of *Amboise*, with sixscore Men at Arms, and five hundred Archers, newly sent him by Sea out of *France*. I admir'd a Prince of his Age should not have one Minister of State about him, that durst be plain with, and tell him the Dangers to which he expos'd his Person; but indeed he put no Confidence in what I said. We had a few Forces at Sea, which came from *Naples*, under the Command of Monsieur de *Miolans*, Governor of *Dauphiné*, and one *Stephen de Neves*, of *Montpellier*; they were in all about eight Gallies, and were arriv'd at *Spezie* and *Rapalo*, where they were defeated at the time I speak of, and in the same Place where our Men had beaten King *Alphonso's* Forces in the Beginning of this Expedition, and by the same Party who had been on

(a) *John de Polignac*, Lord of *Beaumont* and *Rendam*. He married *Joan de Fambes*, eldest Sister of *Helena de Fambes*, Wife of *Philip de Comines*.

(b) *Hugh d'Amboise*, Baron of *Aubijoux*, Brother to the famous Cardinal *George d'Amboise*.



A. D. 1494. our side at that Battle, (that is to say Signior *John Lewis di Flisco*, and Signior *John Adorni*) and all of them carried Prisoners into *Genoa*. It had been better Management to have had them with the King, and all little enough. Monsieur *de Bresse* and the Cardinal advanc'd into the Suburbs of *Genoa*, expecting their Party in the Town would raise some Disturbances; but the Duke of *Milan* had taken Care to prevent any Insurrection; and the *Adorni* and Signior *John Lewis di Flisco* had given such Orders about that Affair, that our Forces were in great danger of being handled as they had been at Sea, considering the smalness of their Numbers; nor did any thing prevent it but the Fear the prevailing Party in *Genoa* had, that if they should have sallied out of the Town, the *Forgosi* would have risen up in Arms and shut the Gates upon them; however, our Men met with Difficulty enough before they got to *Asti*, to which they march'd directly, and were not at the Battle, where they might have been more serviceable and better imploy'd. From *Sarzana* the King march'd on towards *Pontrema*, which he was forc'd to pass, it being the Entrance into the Mountains: The Town and Castle were strong, and the Country about it almost inaccessible; and had they been well garrison'd, they could never have been taken; but what Friar *Ferom* told me prov'd true, That God would lead him as it were by the Hand till he was out of all Danger; for the Enemy was blind and stupid, and had not put above three or four hundred Men to defend that important Pass. The King sent his Vanguard to *Pontrema* under the Command of Marshal *de Giè* and Signior *John James di Trivulce*, whom he had entertain'd in his Service ever since King *Ferrand's* Flight out of

of Naples; this (d) *John James* was a Gentleman A. D. of *Milan*, of a noble Family, a good Officer, a rich Man, and a great Enemy to the Duke of *Milan*, as having been banish'd by him; and by his Means the Place was presently deliver'd, and the Garrison march'd out; but a great Inconvenience ensued upon this; for as I have already mention'd, when the Duke of *Milan* was there last, there happen'd to be a Dispute between the Townsmen and some of the *Germans*, (forty of which were slain by the Townsmen) so that the *Swiss* in Revenge, and contrary to their Articles, put all the Men to the Sword, plunder'd the Town, put Fire to it, and burn'd it and all their Magazines, with about ten of their own Men, who being drunk, could not get out; and it was not in the Marshal *de Giè*'s Power to prevent it. After they had committed this Outrage they besieg'd the Castle, in order to have us'd them after the same manner, though the Garrison consisted of none but Signior *John James di Trivulce*'s Troops, which were put into it when the Enemy march'd out; neither would they give over their Attack till the King himself came in Person, and commanded them to desist.

(d) *John James di Trivulce*, a Native of *Milan*, Marquis of *Vigeve*, Governor of *Milan*, Captain of an hundred Italian Men at Arms, and two hundred Archers, and Lieutenant General of all the King's Forces in *Italy*. He did the King signal Service at the Battle of *Fornova* and *Aignadel*, and had considerable Employments under *Charles VIII.* *Lewis XII.* and *Francis I.* He was created a Marshal of *France* in 1500. and died in 1518. He was Uncle to *Theodore Trivulce*, who was also Governor of *Milan*, and Marshal of *France*. Their Elogies are to be seen in *Brantome's Lives of illustrious Foreigners*, Tome II. Page 476.

The

A.D. 1494. The Destruction of this Place was a great Inconvenience to the King, not so much for the Dishonour (tho' that was considerable) as for the Provisions that were spoil'd, of which there was great Plenty, and we in Extremity of Want: Yet the People were not much against us, only those about the Town who had suffer'd more particularly; but if the King had hearken'd to the Overtures made him by Signior *John James di Trivulce*, several Places and Persons of Importance would have surrender'd and come into him; for he advis'd him to set up the young Duke's Standard, who was Son of *John Galeas*, the last Duke of *Milan*, that lies buried at *Pavia*, as you have heard; which young Duke was in Count *Lodowick's* Power. But the King would not be persuaded to do it, out of Kindness to the Duke of *Orleans*, who pretended to the Dutchy. Upon which the King march'd from *Pontremà*, and encamp'd in a small Valley, where there were not ten Houses, and the Name I have forgot. He lay in that Camp five Days (I know not why) his Army in great Distress for Provisions, the Main-Body thirty Miles behind the Van (which was march'd before) and to march over high and steep Rocks where such great Cannon were never seen till then; for those which Duke *Galeas* had pass'd that Way with were but four, and they small, and not above five hundred Weight a-piece, and yet that was then look'd upon as a Miracle.

But to return now to the Duke of *Orleans*: As soon as he had taken the Castle of *Novara*, he lay still for some Days, and did nothing, and at length march'd to *Veglievene*. Two little Towns hard by sent to him, and offer'd to receive



ceive his Troops, but he wisely refus'd the Overtures they made him. The Citizens of *Pavia* sent twice to him likewise, and there he was mightily to blame in refusing their Offer. In short, he drew up in Battalia before the Town of *Vegiovene*, where the Duke of *Milan*'s whole Army was encamp'd, and commanded by the Sons of *Galeas St. Severino*, so often mention'd before: The Town is worth nothing, not a jot better than *Saint Martin de Candie*: I came thither not long after, when the Duke of *Milan* and all his chief Officers were there, and they shew'd me the Places where their Armies were drawn up both within and without the Town, and if the Duke of *Orleans* had advanc'd but a hundred Paces farther the Enemy had retreated over the River *Tesin*, where they had made a large Bridge of Boats and were drawn up on the Bank; besides, I saw them demolish a Fort which they had built on the other side to secure their Pass; for they had resolv'd to quit both the Town and the Castle, which would have been a great Disadvantage to them. This is the Place where the Duke of *Milan* generally resides, and indeed it is the best Seat for Hunting and Hawking, and all kind of Sports that I ever yet saw. But perhaps the Duke of *Orleans* thought the Town stronger than it really was, and that he had done enough already, without attempting any thing farther; and therefore he march'd off to a Place call'd *Trecane*, the Lord of which Place had a Conference with me not long after, and he had something in charge from the Duke of *Milan*. To the Town of *Trecane* they sent the chief Citizens of *Milan* to invite him thither, and tempt him into the Town; offering their Children as Hostages, and they could easily have

A. D.

1494.

put

A.<sup>d</sup>.D. 1494. put him into the Possession of it, as I have been credibly inform'd since by Persons of great Authority, who were there at that time; for the Duke of *Milan* would not have found Men enough to have defended the Castle, and the Nobility and Commons conspir'd the Destruction of the House of *Sforza*. The Duke of *Orleans* also, and his Men have told me the same, but they durst not trust them; and they wanted a Person that understood them and their Ways better than they; besides, his great Officers were not all of the same Opinion in relation to that Affair. A Body of two thousand Germans sent by the King of the *Romans*, and about a thousand Horse under the Command of Monsieur *Frederick Capelare* born in the County of *Ferrette*, join'd the Duke of *Milan's* Army; with this Reinforcement *Galeas* and the rest of the Officers were so mightily encourag'd that they march'd directly to *Trecane* and offer'd the Duke of *Orleans* Battle; but he was advis'd not to fight, tho' his Army was more numerous than theirs; perhaps the Officers were unwilling to hazard this Army, lest the Loss of it should be the Ruin of the King, of whom they could have no Intelligence, by reason the Couriers were all stopp'd: Upon this the Duke of *Orleans* retreated with his whole Army, having with great Indiscretion neglected the favourable Opportunity of supplying the Town with Provisions, or preserving as they ought what was already in their Magazines, though they might have had enough at that time in the Country round about it without Money, and for fetching; but when they wanted it afterwards, the Enemy was within half a League of the Town.

## C H A P. V.

A. D.

1494.

*Of the King's passing the Apennine Mountains with his Train of Artillery, by the Assistance of the Swiss; the great Danger which the Marshal de Gié and his whole Vanguard was in; and the King's Arrival at Fornova.*

WE left the King encamp'd in a Valley on this side *Pontrema*, in great Want of Provisions; and yet he stay'd there five Days without any manner of Occasion. Our *Swiss*, who had committed the great Fault at *Pontrema*, did us a singular Piece of Service at this Time; they were fearful their Crime should give the King a Displeasure against them, that his Majesty would never endure them more; and therefore to atone for what was past they came to him of themselves, and offer'd to convey his great Guns over those almost unpassable Mountains, (and well I may call them so for their Height and Steepness) there being no Track or Path to direct them. I have seen most of the chief Mountains both in *Italy* and *Spain*, but none of them are to be compar'd to these; and this Offer they made upon condition the King would forgive them, which he did. Our Train consisted of fourteen extraordinary great Guns. At the farther End of the Valley we began to climb up a steep Way, where our Mules could scarce get up; these *Swiss* corded themselves two and two together, and drew a hundred, sometimes two

The Swiss convey the King's Artillery over the Apennine Mountains.

T                      hundred



A. D. hundred in a Company, till they were weary,  
 1494. and then they were relieved by as many more ;  
 besides these, there were the Horses belonging  
 to the Train, and the Waggon ; for every one  
 of the Courtiers who had any Carriage, lent a  
 Horse to hasten their Passage, but had it not  
 been for these *Swiss*, their Horses would never  
 have done it ; and to speak Truth they help'd  
 over not only the Artillery but the whole Army,  
 for had it not been for them not a Man could  
 have pass'd the Mountains. Finding themselves  
 so necessary, it encourag'd them exceedingly ;  
 and besides they had as great a Desire to be over  
 as the rest of the Army ; they had committed  
 many Faults, but this good Action did suffici-  
 ently atone for all : However, the greatest part  
 of the Difficulty was not to get the Artillery up,  
 for as soon as they were at the Top, they saw  
 great deep Vallies below them, to which there  
 was no Way but what Nature had prepar'd ; for  
 they had never been pass'd before ; so that our  
 Horses and Men were forc'd to draw backward,  
 and the letting it down was infinitely more  
 Trouble than the haling it up ; and besides, the  
 Smiths and the Carpenters were forc'd to be  
 constantly by ; for if any of the Guns slipp'd,  
 they were to be mended before they could go  
 on. Many advis'd the King for Expedition  
 sake to break his great Guns, but he would by  
 no means consent to it.

The Marshal *de Giè* lay thirty Miles before us,  
 and press'd the King to hasten his March ; and  
 yet it was three Days before we could reach him,  
 and by that time the Enemy was advanc'd with-  
 in sight. Their Army was encamp'd in a large  
 Field, about half a League from him ; and if they  
 had attack'd him he had certainly been defeated.

The

The Marshal afterwards took up his Quarters at *Fornova*, a strong Town at the Entrance into the Plain, and this he did to keep them from assailing us on the Mountains; but we had a better Guardian than he to protect us, for God put other Thoughts into the Heads of our Enemies, and so blinded their Understandings with Avarice, that they were resolv'd to wait for our coming into the Plain, that they might cut us all to Pieces; for they thought if they should attack us upon the Mountains we might retreat to *Pisa* or some of the Towns we kept in *Florence*: but they were mistaken; for those Places were too remote, and if they had beaten us, they might have pursued as fast as we could have fled, and they would have had the Advantage of knowing the Country better than we. Thus far on our side the War was not begun; but the Marshal *de Giè* sent the King Word that he had pass'd the Mountains, and that having sent out a Party of forty Horse to discover the Enemy, they had been charg'd by their *Estradiots*, and one of them (call'd *le Beuf*) being slain, the *Estradiots* cut off his Head, put it upon the Top of a Lance, carried it to their Proveditor, and demanded a Ducat. These *Estradiots* are of the same Nature with the *Fanisaries* in *Turkey*, they are Horse and Foot, and habited like *Turks*, only they wear no Turbants upon their Heads. They are hardy People, and lie abroad all the Year round, like their Horses; they were originally *Greeks*, from the Places which the *Venetians* have in their Hands in those Parts, some of them from *Naples*, and *Romagna* in the *Morea*, others from *Albania*, and others from *Durazzo*; their Horses are all *Turkish*, and very good. The *Venetians* employ them often in their Wars, and put great Confi-

A. D.

1494.

What sort  
of People  
the E-  
stradiots  
were.

A. D. 1494. dence in them ; I saw them all upon their first Landing at *Venice*, and muster'd in the Island where the Abby of *St. Nicholas* is built, and their Number was near fifteen hundred ; they are stout nimble Fellows, and will plague an Army terribly, when they once undertake it. These *Estradiots* as I said before having beaten our Party, pursued them to the Marshal's Quarters where the *Swiss* were posted, of whom they kill'd three or four, and carried away their Heads according to their Custom. For the *Venetians* having War against the *Turks* formerly, in the time of *Mahomet* this great *Turks* Father, that Sultan *Mahomet* would not suffer his Soldiers to give Quarter, but allow'd them a Ducat a Head, and the *Venetians* did the same. My Opinion is they did it on purpose to terrify us, and indeed so they did ; but the *Estradiots* themselves were no less affrighted with our Artillery ; for a Shot from a Faulcon having kill'd one of their Horses, they retir'd with great Precipitation ; but in their Retreat they took one of our *Swiss* Captains who was gotten on Horse-back, and following to observe their Motions, and being unarm'd, was run through the Body with a Lance. The Captain was a wise Man, and they carried him before the Marquis of *Mantua*, (who was Captain-General for the *Venetians*) and his Uncle the Lord *Rodolphus* of *Mantua*, and the Count *di Cajazzo*, who commanded for the Duke of *Milan*, knew him extremely well. The Enemies Army had taken the Field (at least all that were join'd, for some were still to come up) about eight Days before, but lay still in Expectation of their Confederates ; so that the King might have gone back into *France* without any Impediment in the World, had he not squander'd away his Time to



no purpose by the Way as you have heard: A. D.  
But God had order'd it otherwise.

The Marshal *de Giè* fearing to be attack'd, retir'd to the Mountains. He had with him (as he told me) about eight score Men at Arms, and eight hundred *Swiss* and no more, and from us he could not expect any Assistance; for by reason of our heavy Cannon we could not join him in less than a Day and a half: The King in his March lay at two little Marquisses Houses: Our Vanguard being posted upon the Mountain was afraid of being attack'd by the Enemy, who were drawn up in order of Battle at a good distance in the Plain; but God (who had always preserv'd our Army) infatuated our Adversaries Understanding. The *Swiss* Captain being examin'd by the Count *di Cajazzo*, who commanded their Army, and was then in their Van, was ask'd what Number of Men at Arms were with the Marshal, and the Count knew our Strength as well as we did our selves; for he had been with us the whole Campaign.

The *Swiss* magnified our Forces, represented us much stronger than we were, and told him the Marshal had with him 300 Men at Arms and 1500 *Swiss*. The Count told him plainly he lied; for in the whole Army we had not above 3000, and it was improbable we would send half of them before; upon which the Captain was sent Prisoner to the Marquis of *Mantua's* Tent, where a Council of War was call'd, in order to consult how to attack us. The Marquis believ'd what the *Swiss* Captain had said, urg'd that their Infantry were not so good as the *Swiss*, that all their Forces had not join'd 'em, that it would be a great Injury to the Allies to engage without 'em, and that if they should lose the Bat-

A. D. 1494. the Senate would have just reason to blame their Conduct ; that it would be better therefore to wait for our coming into the Plain, where we could not pass but under their Noses ; and the two Proveditors being of the same Opinion, they durst not oppose. Others affirm'd, that if they routed this Vanguard the King must of Necessity be taken Prisoner ; but for all that it was concluded to expect us in the Plain, and they confidently believ'd that none of us could escape. This I have been inform'd of since, by the very Persons whom I have mention'd ; for after the Fight we discours'd together, and the Marshal *de Gie* and I had this Relation from their own Mouths. Upon this they retir'd with their Army into the Plain, being assur'd that within a Day or two the King must of Necessity come to *Fornova*, and in the mean time the rest of the Confederate Forces arriv'd in their Camp, and the Way was so narrow, we were oblig'd to march close by them.

*The Fertility of Lombardy compar'd with that of Flanders.*

Upon our descending from the Mountains we had the Prospect of the Plain of *Lombardy*, which is the pleasantest and best Country in the World, and most plentiful in every thing : Yet though I call it a Plain, it is scarce passable for a Horse, for 'tis as enclos'd as *Flanders*, or rather more, but much better, and more fruitful, both in Corn, Wine, and Fruit ; and their Ground never lies fallow. It pleas'd us exceedingly to see so fine a Country after the Wants and Hardships which we had suffer'd since our Departure from *Lucca* ; but our Train of Artillery was our greatest Trouble, especially to let down, so steep and difficult was the direct Way. In the Enemies Camp there were great Numbers of Tents and Pavillions, which represented it very large ; and indeed

indeed so it was; the *Venetians* having made good A. D.  
 their Message by me to the King, when they 1494.  
 promis'd that the Duke of *Milan* and they would  
 bring forty thousand Men into the Field, and if  
 they had not their full Number, they wanted  
 not much of it, for they were five and thirty  
 thousand effective Men, and of them four parts  
 in five were in the *Venetian* Pay. They had at  
 least two thousand Men at Arms barb'd, every  
 one with his Bow-man on Horse-back, or some  
 other Person in Livery, and four Horses attend-  
 ing him: Their *Esfradiots* and other light Horse  
 were about five thousand, the rest were all In-  
 fantry, encamp'd very strong, besides a large  
 Train of Artillery with them.

The King descended from the Mountains about A. D.  
 Noon, and took up his Quarters in *Fornova* the 1495.  
 fifth of *July*, being *Sunday*, in the Year 1495.  
 We found good Store of Provision both for our King  
 Horses and our selves. The People receiv'd us Charles's  
 very kindly, for no body of any fashion did safe Arri-  
 val at  
 them the least Injury: They brought us Victu-  
 als and Bread, but their Bread was small and  
 black, and they sold it very dear, and their Wine  
 was three Parts Water; they brought us likewise  
 some of their Fruits, and were mighty diligent  
 in attending our Army. I order'd them to bring  
 me a little of every thing, which I laid before  
 me, but durst not venture to eat any of it; for  
 we had great Suspicion that this Plenty of Provi-  
 sions was left there on purpose to poison us; so  
 that at first no body touch'd them; and our Jeal-  
 ousy was much increas'd by the Death of two  
 of our *Swiss*, who were found dead in a Cellar,  
 having kill'd themselves with excessive Drink-  
 ing, or else died with Cold afterwards; but be-  
 fore Night our Horses began to eat, and at last



A. D. the Soldiers following their Example, we re-  
 1495. fresh'd our selves very well. I must say this in  
 Honour of the *Italians*; we never found that  
 they endeavour'd to do us any Mischief by Poi-  
 son; if they had, we could have hardly secur'd  
 our selves in this March. On the *Sunday* (as I said  
 before) we arriv'd about Noon at *Fornova*, most  
 of our People of Quality eat nothing but a Crust  
 of Bread at the Place where the King alighted  
 and drank; and indeed at that time there was  
 little else to be got; for the Provisions that were  
 in the Town no body durst venture on.

Presently after this Refreshment their *Estradi-  
 ots* sallied out of their Camp, and pickeering up  
 to our very Army, gave us a strong Allarm. Our  
 Men being unacquainted with their Way, drew  
 out into the Field; and put themselves very for-  
 mally into order of Battle, with a Van, a Body,  
 and a Rear, so exactly well distanc'd that they  
 were not a Bowl's Cast one from another, so  
 that upon any Disaster they might easily be sup-  
 ported, but no Action happen'd at that time,  
 and both Parties retir'd to their Camp. Our  
 Tents were but few, and our Camp extended  
 so near to theirs, that twenty of their *Estradiots*  
 were enough to give us an Alarm at any time:  
 Wherefore they still lay in our Front, having  
 the Benefit of a Wood through which they might  
 march up to us before they were discover'd. We  
 lay betwixt two Hills in a Valley, divided by a  
 small River, call'd *Tarro*, fordable sometimes on  
 foot, unless it was swell'd by the Waters from  
 the Mountains, which fall suddenly, and are as  
 suddenly gone. The Valley in which we lay  
 encamp'd, being full of Gravel and great Stones,  
 was very incommodious for our Cavalry; it was  
 about a quarter of a League over, and upon the  
 Hill

Hill on our right Hand, within half a League of us the Enemy was posted; so that we were oblig'd to pass in sight of their whole Army, and only that River between us. There was on that side we were quarter'd, beyond the Hill on the left Hand, another Road which we might have march'd; but then we should have seem'd to have been afraid of them. About two Days before it was propos'd to me by some prudent Persons in our Army, who now began to be apprehensive of their Danger, that I should go and desire a Parley with the Enemy, and should take another along with me, to observe their Number, and Situation of their Camp. I had no great Inclination to undertake this Affair, (and without a safe Conduct there was no going at all) wherefore I told them, that at my Departure from *Venice*, and at *Padua*, I had taken my leave very kindly of the Proveditors, and that we had promis'd Correspondence upon occasion, and therefore I did not question but upon any Overture of a Treaty they would meet me half Way; whereas if I should condescend to go to them, it would but make them the more arrogant; besides, I fear'd it was too late. The same Sunday I wrote to the Proveditors (one of them was call'd *Luques Pisano*, and the other *Melchior Trivisano*) desiring that according to the Agreement between our selves at my Departure from *Padua*, they would send me a Passport, in order to have a Conference with them. They sent me Word, they would have done it with all their Hearts, had we not begun a War against the Duke of *Milan*: However, one of them (as they should agree) would meet me in some Place in the mid-way between the two Armies. I had their Answer the same Night, but none of those who were

A. D.

1495.

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826 *The MEMOIRS of* BOOK VIII.

A. D. were great with the King took any Notice of it.  
1495. I was fearful of meddling too far, lest they should have interpreted it cowardise; so that I press'd it no farther that Night, though I would willingly have done any thing to have deliver'd the King and his Army out of Danger, with any Safety to my self.

*Wrong  
Measures  
that were  
taken by  
Charles  
VIII.  
which oc-  
casion'd  
the Battle  
of Fornova.*

About mid-night the Cardinal of *St. Malo* being come from the King, and his Tent being near mine, came to me, and told me, that the King would march the next Morning; that he was resolv'd to pass by them, and when he began to march, that he would fire some of his great Guns into their Army by way of Defiance, and then march on in as good Order as they could. I am of Opinion it was the Cardinal's own Advice, for he was ignorant in such Cases, and knew not what Counsel to give; and it had been much more prudent in the King to have call'd a Council of his Officers, and all the grave Men about him, to have consulted what Measures had been proper to have been taken in that Exigence of Affairs; but the Case had been the same, for in this very March I had seen many things concerted in Council with very great Prudence, but manag'd quite contrary when they came to be executed. I told the Cardinal that if we came so near as to fire into their Camp, they would certainly come out and skirmish with us, and that then it would be impossible to avoid a general Battle; besides, it did not consist with the Overture I had made, so that I was extremely concern'd to hear the Resolution the King had taken. However, such was my Condition from the beginning of this King's Reign, that I durst not intermeddle, for fear I should disoblige his Favourites, and make them my Ene-



Enemies, who had indeed greater Authority A. D.  
with him than they ought to have had.

That Night we had two great Alarms, and <sup>1495.</sup>  
all through our own Negligence, in not having  
taken the same Precaution to secure our selves  
against the Incursions of the *Estradiots*, as we us'd  
to do against the light Horse, for twenty of  
our Men at Arms with their Archers would have  
stopp'd two hundred of them, but they were  
new to us then. We had great Rains that Night  
also, and such Claps of Thunder and Lightning,  
as if Heaven and Earth were coming together; or  
that this was an Omen of some impending Mis-  
chief. But we were at the foot of great Moun-  
tains, in a hot Country, and in the Height of  
the Summer, so that the thing was natural e-  
nough; however it was very terrible, and our  
Consternation was encreas'd by our Enemies be-  
ing so numerous before us, and no Possibility to  
pass without fighting them, which must be done  
upon great Disadvantage; for our Army was but  
small, not amounting to above nine thousand  
Men in the whole, and of them I believe two  
thousand were Servants, and such as follow'd  
the Camp, without reckoning Pages and Foot-  
men belonging to the Officers.

## CHAP.

A. D.

1495.

## C H A P. VI.

*The Battle of Fornova, in which the French defeated their Enemies; and of the Count de Petillane's making his Escape from his Imprisonment during the Fight, and his rallying their Army.*



THE next Morning, the sixth of July, 1495. being Monday, by seven a-Clock, the King mounted on Horse-back, and call'd for me several times: I came to him, and found him compleatly arm'd, and mounted upon the best Horse I ever saw in my Life. The Horse was call'd *Savoy*, of the *Bressian* Breed, and presented him (according to common Report) by *Charles Duke of Savoy*: It was a black Horse with but one Eye, of no extraordinary Stature, but tall enough for him that was to ride him. This young Prince seem'd that Day quite another thing than what one would take him to be by his Nature, Proportion and Complexion. He was exceeding bashful, especially in speaking, and is so to this Day; and no wonder, for he had been brought up in great awe, and in the company of inferior People; but now being mounted on his Horse, his Eyes sparkl'd with Fire, his Complexion was fresh and lively, and all his Words shew'd Wisdom and Discretion; so that I partly believ'd the Predictions of *Friar Jerome* (and I thought of it at that time) when he told me that God would conduct him as it were by the Hand, and that he should meet with some Difficulties in his Return

Return to his own Dominions ; but that he A. D.  
 should overcome them all, and gain immortal 1495.  
 Honour by it. The King's Business with me was, *That if those People would treat, I might go treat with them* ; and the Cardinal being by, he nominated him to go along with me, as also the Marshal *de Giè*, who at that time was in a violent Passion, occasion'd by a Dispute between the Counts *de Narbonne* and *de Guise*, both of which pretended to the Command of the Van that Day. I reply'd, *Sir, I shall observe your Commands ; but I never saw two great Armies so near, but they fought before they parted.*

Our whole Army march'd out of their Camp in good Order, the Battalions near one another, as the Day before ; but yet methought they did not make so fine an Appearance, as those I had formerly seen under *Charles Duke of Burgundy*, and his Father King *Lewis XI.* nor indeed were they half so numerous. The Cardinal and I withdrew a little, and dictated a Letter to the two *Proveditors*, which was written by one *Monsieur Robertet*, one of the King's Secretaries, in whom he had great Confidence. The Substance of the Letter was, that it was the Cardinal's Duty, by virtue of his Quality and Function, to procure Peace, if it lay in his Power ; and mine also, for having been Ambassador lately at *Venice*, it would not be improper to be a Mediator now. We signify'd to them that the King's Resolution was only to march through the Country in his way to *France*, without committing any Hostilities ; and therefore if they desir'd a Conference, as was propos'd the Day before, we were ready to meet, and would employ all our Interest to accommodate Matters. By this time the Fight was begun, and there was skirmishing



A. D. missing in all Places. As we were marching on 1495. slowly, with the River between us, we came within a quarter of a League one of the other, they being also drawn up in Order of Battle; for 'tis their Custom to make their Camp so large, that they can put themselves into Battalia within it.

They sent out a Party of their *Estradiots* and Bow-men on Horse back, and some few Men at Arms; which march'd directly, by private Roads, to the Village of *Fornova*, which we had just left, with a design to pass the little River *Tarro* in that Place, and fall upon our Carriages, which were very numerous (in all I believe, besides Wag-gons, about 6000 Sumpter-Horses, Mules and Asses.) Their Army was drawn up in as good Order as possible, which they had practis'd several Days before; and they rely'd much upon their Superiority of Forces. They attack'd the King's Army on every side, so that if we had been beaten, not a Man of us could have escap'd, considering the Country we were in. Those which I mention'd before fell upon our Baggage. On the Left Hand there were the Marquis of *Mantua*; his Uncle the Lord *Rodolphus*, the Count *Fortebracio di Montone*, with the Flower of their Army, consisting of six hundred Men at Arms, as they told me since; and these charg'd our Rear. All the Men at Arms were well barb'd, with their Plumes of Feathers, their (a) *Bourdonnasses*, their Cross-bows on Horse-back, their *Estradiots*, and their Infantry to support 'em. Against the Marshal *de Giè* and our

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(a) *Bourdonnasses* were hollow Horsemen's Staves, curiously painted, and us'd in Italy by their Men at Arms.

Van-guard, the Count *di Cajazzo* advanc'd with about four thousand Men at Arms well accoutred, and supported also by a good Body of Foot. There was also another Brigade of Men at Arms commanded by Signior *John Bentivoglio* of *Bologna*, a young Gentleman who had never been in a Battle (and to speak the truth, they wanted good Officers as well as we.) These were to second the Count *di Cajazzo*, and fall upon our Van; and there was also another Squadron in the Nature of a *Corps de Reserve* to the Marquis of *Mantua*, which was commanded by *Anthony d'Urbino*, a Bastard to the late Duke *d'Urbino*; besides all which there were two great Bodies left firm in their Camp. This I understood afterwards from themselves, and the next Day I saw it with my Eyes; for the *Venetians* would not venture all at one Stake, nor leave their Baggage unguarded, for fear of being plunder'd; yet in my judgment they had better have put all to a push, since they were so far engag'd.

I shall now acquaint you with what became of the Letter which the Cardinal and I sent by a Trumpet. It was receiv'd by the *Proveditors*, and as soon as they had read it our Great Guns began to play, and they answer'd us; but theirs were not so good as ours. The *Proveditors* sent the Trumpet back, and the Marquis sent another of his with this Message, that they would willingly treat, and upon condition we would give over canonading, they would do so too. I was then at a distance from the King, who was riding up and down from Rank to Rank: I sent back the Trumpets to let him know that our Cannon should cease firing; and sending to that purpose to the Master of the Artillery, both Sides gave over for a time; but on a sudden they

1495. A. D. they fir'd a Gun among us, and ours began to play more fiercely than before with three fresh Pieces which we had levell'd against them. As soon as our two Trumpets were arriv'd in their Camp, they were carry'd to the General's Tent, where it was solemnly debated whether they should treat, or engage. The Count *di Cajazzo* (as they told me who were present) urg'd that we were half vanquish'd already; that this was no Time for a Treaty; and one of the *Proveditors* (who told me the Story) was of his Judgment, but the other not. The Marquis was of that mind too, but his Uncle was against it; and being an honest and discreet Man, strenuously oppos'd it; for he lov'd us well, and serv'd against us unwillingly. At length they were unanimous in their Opinion for Fighting.

You must know that the King had plac'd his greatest Strength in his Van; for in it there were about three hundred and fifty Men at Arms, three thousand *Swiss*, (the Hopes of the whole Army) three hundred Archers, and two hundred Cross-bow-men of his own Guard (which was exposing his Royal Person more than he ought to have done) and which he order'd to fight among the Foot. Besides these *Swiss* we had very few Foot; but what we had were distributed among them. There fought on Foot among the *Swiss* the Lord *Englebert*, Monsieur *de Cleves* Brother to the Duke of *Cleves*, *Lornay*, and the (a) Bailiff of *Dijon* who commanded them; and the Artillery was plac'd in their Front. The Forces that were left in the Town of *Florence*, and those which were sent to *Genoa*

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(a) *Anthony de Bessey*. See Book 7. Chap. 5.



against the Judgment of all People, would have A. D.  
been of very great Service to us at this time. 1495.  
Our Van-guard had by this time march'd on as  
far as the Enemy's Camp, and every Body expect-  
ed when they would have attack'd us ; but our  
two other Bodies were neither so near, nor so  
well order'd as the Day before ; and because the  
Marquis of *Mantua* (who had already pass'd the  
River, and enter'd the Plain) was within a  
Quarter of a League of our Rear ready to attack  
them, but marching slowly on, and in such  
close Order, that it was a very fine Sight to be-  
hold ; the King was forc'd to turn his Back  
upon his own Van-guard, and face about to the  
Rear. I was at that time with the Cardinal at-  
tending an Answer ; but I told him it was no  
time to wait any longer, and so I pass'd by  
the *Swiss* Squadron, and went to find out the  
King. In my Passage I lost a Page (who was  
my Cousin German) a *Valet de Chambre*, and a  
Foot-boy who follow'd at a distance ; and I  
did not see when they were slain.

I was not come a hundred Paces, when I  
heard a great Noise in the Place from whence I  
came, or a little behind it ; it was the *Estradiots*,  
who were gotten into the King's Quarters,  
where there were not above three or four Hou-  
ses, and they rifled his Baggage, and kill'd or  
wounded four or five Men which belong'd to  
them, the rest escap'd ; they kill'd about a hun-  
dred Foot-boys and Servants belonging to our  
Carriages, and put our whole Train in very  
great Disorder. When I came where the King  
was, I found him making of Knights. The En-  
emy being come very near him, he was advis'd to  
give over : I heard *Matthew* the Bastard of  
*Bourbon* (who was in great Favour with the  
U King)

A. D. King) and one *Philip du Moulin* (a private, but a very brave Gentleman) call to the King, 1495. and say, *On, Sir, on*; upon which he went to the Head of the Army, and plac'd himself directly before his Standard, so that there was not a Man that I saw nearer the Enemy, unless it were the Bastard of *Bourbon*. I had not been with the King a Quarter of an Hour before the Enemy was advanc'd within a hundred Paces of his Majesty, who was as ill guarded and attended as any Prince that I ever saw; but he is well guarded who is guarded by God: and it was true what Friar *Jerome* had presag'd, who said, *That God would lead him as it were by the Hand*. His Rear was posted on the Right, drawn up a little behind him. The next Battalion to him on that side was the Duke of *Orleans's* Troops, consisting of about eight hundred Lances commanded by *Robinet de Fraimexelles*, about forty more by the *Sieur de la Trimoille*, and the *Scotch Archers* about one hundred, who put themselves into as close Order as if they had been Men at Arms. I was on the Left among the *Gentlemen des Vingt Escus*, the Pensioners, and others of the King's Household: I will not mention their several Captains, for Brevity's sake; but the Rear was commanded by *Monsieur de Foix*.

About a Quarter of an Hour (as I said before) after my Arrival, the Enemy being advanc'd as near the King as you have heard, began to couch their Lances, advance upon a gentle Gallop, and in two Bodies charg'd our two Squadrons on the Right of them, and the *Scotch Archers*: Ours advanc'd towards them, and the King as bravely as any. On the Left, where I was posted we charg'd them on the Flank much to our Advantage; and indeed, to say truth, never Charge was

was brisker on both sides. Their *Estradiots*, who were in the Rear of that Division, seeing our Mules and Sumpter-Horses making with all speed to our Van-guard, and their Camarades beginning to plunder, quitted their Men at Arms, and ran to them to have their Share of the Booty ; but certainly if the weakest Regiments in their Army had but attack'd us with only their Simitars in their Hands (which is a terrible Weapon) considering the Smalness of our Number, we must needs have been beaten ; but God assisted us, for no sooner had they charg'd us with their Lances, but their *Italian* Men at Arms fled, and all their Infantry, or the greatest part of them, gave ground also. At the same time that this Squadron charg'd us, the Count *di Cajazzo* attack'd our Van ; but they came not so close, for when they should have rested their Lances, their Hearts fail'd, and they put themselves in disorder, and the *Swiss* took fifteen or twenty of them in a Company, and put them to the Sword ; the rest fled, and were but indifferently pursu'd ; for the Marshal *de Già* with much ado kept his Forces together, for he perceiv'd another great Body of them not very far off: However, some follow'd the Chase, and the Enemy fled over the Ground where we had charg'd along the Highway with their Swords only in their Hands ; for their Lances they had thrown away. But you must know that that Brigade which charg'd the King, was warmly pursu'd ; for all of us made after them : some of them fled to the Village from whence we were come, others made to their Camp, and all of us after them ; only the King staid behind with some few of his Troops, and put himself in no little Danger by doing so. One of the first Men of the Enemy which was

A. D.

1495.



1495. A. D. slain was the Lord *Rodolphus* of *Mantua*, the Marquis's Uncle (who was to have sent Orders to the Lord *Anthony d'Urbis*, when it was time for him to march) for they thought the Battle would have lasted a long while, according to the Custom of *Italy*, and the Lord *Anthony* excus'd himself upon that score; but I believe he saw nothing to encourage him to advance. We had a great number of Grooms and Servants with our Waggon, who flock'd about the *Italian* Men at Arms, when they were dismounted, and knock'd most of them on the Head. The greatest part of them had their Hatchets (which they cut their Wood with) in their Hands, and with them they broke up their Head-pieces, and then knock'd out their Brains; otherwise they could not easily have kill'd them, they were so very well arm'd: and to be sure there were three or four of our Men to do their Business. The long Swords also which our Archers and Servants wore, did very good Execution. The King continu'd on the Ground where he was charg'd, declaring that he would neither follow the Chase, nor retire to our Van-guard, which was at too far a distance. He had appointed seven or eight young Gentlemen to attend constantly about him. He had escap'd very well the first Charge, considering how near he was to the Enemy; for within twenty Paces of him the Bastard of *Bourbon* was taken Prisoner, and carry'd off to their Camp.

The King (as I said before) remain'd in the same Place, and so ill attended, that of all his Squadron he had none left him but *Anthony des Ambus*, a Gentleman of his Bed-chamber, a little Man, and but ill arm'd; the others were all dispers'd, as he told me himself at Night before  
their

their Faces, and they ought to have been ashamed: but they came to his Assistance very seasonably; for a small Party of the routed Enemy coming by upon the Road, and perceiving it so thin of Men, fell upon the King and the Gentleman of his Bed-chamber; but the King by the Activity of his Horse, (which was the best in the World) kept them in play, till other of his Men came up, which were not far off; and then the *Italians* were all cut in pieces. Upon this the King took their Counsel, and retir'd to his Van, which had never stirr'd from its Ground. Thus the King came off victoriously with the Main Battle, and if the Van had advanc'd but an hundred Paces, the Enemies whole Army had fled; some said they ought to have advanc'd, and others, that they ought not.

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Charles  
VIII. in  
great dan-  
ger of his  
Life.

Our Troops which pursu'd follow'd them to their very Camp, which was extended towards *Fornova*; and I saw none of our Men touch'd but one *Julian Bourgneuf*, who fell down dead with a Blow that was given him by an *Italian* Man at Arms who pass'd by him; for he was very ill arm'd. Upon that Accident we stopp'd, and cry'd, *Let us return to the King*; and that very Word stopp'd the whole Party to give our Horses Breath, which had been very hard ridden, and were tir'd with the Length of the Way, which was full of sharp Stones and Gravel. Not far from us we saw a Party of about thirty of the Enemies Men at Arms march along; but we were in disorder, and suffer'd 'em to pass. When our Horses had taken a little breath, we went in search of the King, not knowing where he was; we march'd a good Trot, but we had not gone far before we perceiv'd him at a great distance. We caus'd our Servants to alight and gather up the Lances,

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which

A. D. 1495. which lay very thick upon the Field, and especially the *Boardonasses*; but they were good for nothing, for they were hollow and light, and weigh'd no more than a Javelin, yet finely painted; so that we were better furnish'd with Lances than the Day before, and march'd directly towards the King. In our way we fell in with several Bodies of the Enemies Foot, who were of the Marquis's Division, and had hid themselves behind the Hills, when he made his Charge upon the King. Several of them were slain, but others got over the River, and escap'd, and we never troubl'd our selves about them. Some of our Men in the Heat of the Action cry'd out to them, *Remember Guynagate*, which was a Battle we had lost in King *Lewis's* time in *Picardy* against the King of the *Romans*, where our People fell a plundering the Waggons, tho' there our Men had got nothing; but here their *Estradiots* took what they thought good, and pillag'd as they pleas'd; but they carry'd off only five and fifty of our richest and best cover'd Sumpters, which belong'd to the King, to the two Chamberlains, and one of the King's Gentlemen of his Bed-chamber call'd *Gabriel*, to whose Care were committed all the Relicks and Curiosities, which of a long time had belong'd to the Kings of *France*, and were then in the Army, because the King was there in Person. Several other of our Sumpters and Waggons were overturn'd, lost, and plunder'd by our own Men; but the Enemy had no more than I have already mention'd. We had indeed several Rogues and Wenches which follow'd the Camp on foot, who stripp'd the Dead, and did a great deal of Mischief. To speak the truth (upon impartial Information on both sides) we lost only



only *Julian Bourgneuf*, the Captain of the King's Gate, nine of the *Scotch* Archers, a Gentleman of the Household, about twenty Horse of the Van-guard, and seventy or eighty Servants belonging to our Baggage. On their side, they lost 350 Men at Arms upon the Place; for no Prisoners were taken, which perhaps never happen'd before. Few of their *Estradiots* were slain, for they were busy in plundering when they should have been fighting. In the whole (as I have been inform'd by several of their Nobility) they lost three thousand five hundred Men (others say more) and among them several Persons of Quality. I my self saw a List of eighteen, all of 'em considerable Persons, and among the rest four or five of the *Gonzagues*, which is the Marquis's own Family. The Marquis of *Mantua* in this Battle lost sixty Gentlemen of his own Subjects, all Horse, and not one Foot among them. It is strange, that so many should be kill'd with the Sword, for our Artillery kill'd not ten in both Armies, and the Battle held not a Quarter of an Hour; for as soon as the Enemy had broke their Lances, they fled, and the Chase lasted about three Quarters of an Hour; but their Battles in *Italy* us'd not to be manag'd at this rate; their Custom was to fight Squadron after Squadron, and the Fight lasted sometimes a whole Day together, and at last neither wins the Victory.

The Rout was great on their side; three hundred of their Men at Arms, and most part of their *Estradiots* ran away, some to (a) *Reggio*, and

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The Number of the Slain on both sides at the Battle of Fornova.

(a) This is not *Reggio* in *Calabria*, but another City of the same Name in the Dukedom of *Modena*, fifteen Miles from *Parma*. 'Tis call'd in *Latin*, *Regium Lepedi*.

A. D. 1495. others to *Parma*, which was about eight Leagues from the Field of Battle. When our Army was first engag'd in the Morning, the Count *de Petillane* and the Lord *Virgil Ursini* fled from us; the Lord *Virgil* only retir'd to a Gentleman's House of his Acquaintance hard by, and staid there upon his Parole; but the truth is, we had done him an Injury. The Count *de Petillane* ran quite to the Enemy; he was a Person well known in their Army, for he always had a Command under the *Florentines*, or King *Ferrand*; he began (as soon as he was got amongst them) to cry out, *A Petillane, a Petillane*, following those who fled above three Leagues, calling out to them, and assuring them that there was no Danger, and that if they fac'd about, the Day would still be their own; by which means he rally'd a great part of them, and gave them good hopes; and if it had not been for him, it had been a total Defeat; for it was a great Encouragement to have such an Officer escape from us, and come into their Assistance. He was eager for attacking us again that very Night, but all the rest of the Officers oppos'd it. He told me so since himself, and the Marquis of *Mantua* confirm'd it, and own'd that Advice to be his; and this is certain, had it not been for him, their Army would not have kept together till Morning.

As soon as we were got up to the King, we discover'd a great Body of Men at Arms drawn up in Order of Battle without their Camp, with some Foot; but we could only discover their Heads, and the Tops of their Pikes and Lances. They had stood there all Day, but they were farther off than we imagin'd; before we could have come at them, we must have pass'd the River, which was deep, and encreas'd every Hour;

Hour; for it had thunder'd, lightned, and rain'd most prodigiously all that Day, especially during the Fight, and while we were in the Pursuit. The King immediately call'd a Council of War, in which it was debated whether he should advance against this new Body or not. There were then with him three *Italians*, Persons of very good Quality and Conduct; one of them was Signior *John James di Trivulce* (who is yet living, and behav'd himself very well that Day) another was *Francis Secco*, a brave Man of 72 Years of Age, and bred a Soldier under the *Florentines*; the third was Signior *Camillo Vitelli*, (who with three of his Brothers was then in the King's Service) came unsent for from *Civita-del-Castello* as far as *Sarzana* (which is a great way) to be at this Battle; and finding that it was impossible to come time enough with his Troops, he left them to march slowly after, and advanc'd before with all speed to overtake the King. The two last were of opinion that we should attack the Body that was still unbroken; but the *French* Officers being consulted, gave their Judgment against it, pretending we had done enough, that it grew late, and was time to think of Quarters. *Secco* persisted, and press'd hard to have that Body charg'd, he shew'd them People passing to and again upon the great Road that led to *Parma*, (which was the next Town they had to retreat to) assuring them that the Enemy was either flying, or rallying again, and as we heard afterwards, he was in the right on't. His Behaviour and Council denoted him to be a Great Man; for all the Officers told me afterwards, and some of them before the Duke of *Milan's* face, that if we had but advanc'd against them, we had certainly obtain'd the greatest and most glorious

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A. D. 1495. glorious Victory that the *French* Nation had won in ten Years before ; for had we known how to have improv'd it, and oblig'd the People by our civil Treatment of 'em, in eight Days time the Duke of *Milan* would not have had any thing left but the Castle of *Milan*, so inclinable were his Subjects to revolt from him. And the *Venetians* had been much in the same Condition, so that he needed not to have concern'd himself any farther about *Naples* ; for the *Venetians* would have been able to have rais'd Men only in *Venice*, *Brescia* and *Cremona* (which is but a small Place) for all the rest of their Territories would have been lost. But God dealt by us as Friar *Ferom* had foretold, and we had the Honour of the Day, tho' to speak truth our ill Conduct did not deserve it, nor did we know then how to manage our Victory ; but now it being in the Year 1497. if such good Fortune should happen to the King, I suppose he could order it better.

*The Victory of Fornova not well pursued.*

Whilst we were in this suspense, the Night drew on, and the Enemy that had fac'd us march'd off into their Camp. We on the other side took up our Quarters about a quarter of a League from the Field of Battle. The King lay in a Farm-House, or (by the Meanness of the Building) a Cottage ; but the Barns belonging to it were full of unthresh'd Corn, which serv'd for Provender for our Horses. There were a few Houses besides that in which the King lay, but worse than the other, so as they were but little Benefit to us, and every one was forc'd to quarter as he could. For my part, I remember I lay in a little pitiful Vineyard upon the Ground, without any thing under me ; for the King had borrow'd my Cloak in the Morning, and my Baggage was not to be found. He that had any thing

thing to eat kept himself from starving, but very few had any Victuals more than a Crust of Bread, or so, which they took from their Servants. I saw the King in his Chamber, where there were several wounded, among the rest, the Seneschal of *Lions*, and others, whom he caus'd to be dress'd. The King was very chearful, and every one was pleas'd he had escap'd so well; but we did not huff and swagger, as we us'd to do, for the Enemy was at hand. All our *Swiss* were that Night upon the Guard; the King gave them three hundred Crowns, and they watch'd very diligently, and their Drums beat bravely during the whole Night.

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### C H A P. VII.

*Of the Lord of Argenton's going alone to parley with the Enemy, upon the Refusal of those that were deputed to go along with him; and of the King's safe Arrival with his whole Army at Asti.*

**T**HE next Morning I resolv'd with my self to pursue our Negotiation for a Peace, being always very sollicitous about the King's Passage in Safety; but I could scarce find a Trumpet that would venture to the Enemies Camp, because nine of their Trumpets had been slain (unknown) in the Battle, and they had taken one of ours, and kill'd another, whom (as I mention'd before) the King had sent to them before the Fight began; but at last one of our Trumpets prevail'd

A. D. 1495. vail'd upon to go, and went to the Enemy with a Pass-port from the King, and brought me another to meet and confer in the Mid-way between the two Armies. I judg'd it to be dangerous; however I resolv'd not to break with them, nor pretend any Difficulty. The King nominated the Cardinal of *St. Malo*, the Lord *de Giè* Marshal of *France*, the (a) Lord *de Piennes* his Chamberlain, and my self. The Enemy appointed the Marquis of *Mantua* Captain General of the *Venetians*, the Count *di Cajazzo* General for the Duke of *Milan*, and formerly of our side, and Signior *Luques Pisano* and *Melchior Trevisano* the two *Proveditors*. We approach'd so near, that we could plainly discern them, and that there were only those four upon the Bank, and the River between us, which was much swell'd the Day before. No Body but they appear'd out of their Camp, and on our side there was no Body but we and a Sentinel that stood over against them. We sent a Herald to know whether they would pass the River to us, which I thought a hard matter to persuade them to, because I believ'd it was what both Sides would scruple to do. Their Answer was, that by Agreement the Conference was to be in the Mid-way between the two Armies; that they had advanc'd already above half-way, and being the chief Officers in their Army, they could not pass over without Danger, which they did not think Prudence to venture. Ours were as careful of themselves, and made the same Difficulty on

(a) *Lewis de Hallewin* Lord of *Piennes*, or rather *Peene* in *Flanders*, Chamberlain to *Lewis XI.* and *Charles VIII.* and Governor of *Picardy*. 'Tis the same that is mention'd in *Brantome's* *Memoirs of Illustrious French-men*. Vol. I.



their side, but would needs have me go and confer with them without farther Instructions. I told them I could not in Discretion go alone, and that I would at least have one Witness along with me; upon which there went with me one of the King's Secretaries call'd *Robertet*, a Servant of my own, and a Herald, with whom I pass'd the River, in confidence, that if I could not come to any Accommodation, I should yet discharge my self as to them, since by my Means the Conference was accepted. When I came within Hearing, I told them they were not come half-way, as they pretended, and that they ought at least to have come to the River's side; however since they were so near, I did not think it fit to let them return without being spoken with. They reply'd, that the River was broad, and the Noise of the Waters so great, that they could not hear one another to the other Side; and I could use no Argument powerful enough to persuade 'em to advance any farther; but they ask'd me for my Proposals. I answer'd, that I had no such Commission, and that alone I could say nothing to them; but if they pleas'd to offer any thing, I would acquaint the King with it. While we stood talking in this manner, a Messenger came to me to let me know that our Commissioners were going back, and I might make what Overtures I pleas'd; but I refus'd to do that, for they understood the King's Pleasure better than I, as being of his Cabal; besides they had whisper'd in his Ear at their coming away; but as to the Business then in agitation, I knew as much as the best of 'em. The Marquis of *Mantua* began to discourse about the Battel, and ask'd me if the King would have put him to Death, if he had taken him Prisoner.

A. D. 1495. I told him, *No, but he would have treated him honourably*; for the King had reason to esteem him for the great Honour he had gain'd by his attacking him. Then he spoke to me in the behalf of the Prisoners, and particularly of his Uncle the Lord *Rodolphus*, whom he thought to be alive, but I knew the contrary; however I assur'd him they should be all civilly us'd; and then I recommended to him the *Bastard of Bourbon*, who was their Prisoner. It was no hard matter to use our Prisoners well; for we had given no Quarter, which perhaps was more than had been known in any Battle before; and the Marquis had lost seven or eight of his near Relations, and about six-score of his Men at Arms. After which Discourse I took my leave, and promis'd to return before Night, till when we agreed on a Cessation of Arms.

Upon my Return to the King, and his Secretary with me, he ask'd me what News? and immediately call'd a Council of War in a pitiful poor Chamber; but every Body's Eye was fix'd upon his Neighbour, and we came to no Resolution. The King whisper'd something in the Cardinal's Ear, and then told me I should go back, and see what they would say; (but the Proposition of a Conference proceeding from me, it was probable they would insist that I should make some Overtures first) after which the Cardinal told me I should conclude nothing; but that was trifling, for 'twas not in my power to conclude any thing without Instructions from them. However I would neither say nor do any thing that might hinder my going, for I resolv'd to do no harm, and I was in hopes to discover something by the Enemies Looks, who without doubt were more fearful than we; and perhaps something  
or

or other might fall from them, that might be improv'd to the Benefit of both Parties. So I set out for their Camp, but it was Night before I reach'd the Banks of the River. One of their Trumpets met me there, from their four Commissioners, to desire I would advance no farther that Evening; for their *Estradiots* were upon the Guard, who would know no Body, and therefore in all probability it would be dangerous for me to venture; but if I pleas'd, he told me he would stay with me all Night, and conduct me in the Morning. However I sent him back, and told him I would be there again next Morning by eight a-Clock, where he should expect me; or if any thing happen'd to the contrary, I would give them notice by a Herald; for I had no mind he should know any thing of our Condition that Night, nor could I tell what Resolution the King would take; for I saw People whispering in his Ear, which made me suspect; and so I return'd to give his Majesty an account of what I had done.

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The Author's prudent Management of a dangerous Negotiation.

Every Man supp'd on what he could get to eat; and took up his Lodging upon the Ground. About Midnight I went to the King's Chamber, where I found the Gentlemen of his Bed-chamber booted and spurr'd, and ready to mount on Horse-back; they acquainted me with the King's Resolution of retreating with all Expedition towards *Asti*, and the Territories of the Marchioness of *Montferrat*; and desir'd me to stay behind, and amuse the Enemy with the Treary. I heartily thank'd 'em for their Love, told them I took no delight in being kill'd, and that I would be on Horse-back as soon as the best. A while after the King awak'd, and having heard Mass, he mounted immediately. An hour before Day one of our Trumpets sounded the *Bon Guet*, but when



A. D. 1495. when we decamp'd we made no use of our Trumpets, nor indeed was it proper to do it: However this silent stealing away in the Night was enough to have discourag'd the whole Army, especially those who knew what belong'd to the Wars; for we turn'd our back upon the Enemy, and consulted nothing but our Safety, which in an Army is of dangerous Consequence. Besides, at our first Decampment we had very ill marching; for the Ways were deep and woody, and having no Guides, we lost our selves several times. I heard the Soldiers call for Guides to their Ensigns; the Master of the Horse and all of them answer'd, there were none: But we had no need of any, for God had conducted us thither, and (as Friar Jerom said) *he would carry us back again*; otherwise it could not have been suppos'd that so Great a Prince would have march'd in the Night without a Guide, where so many might have been had. Besides, God gave us a greater Evidence than this of his immediate Protection; for the Enemy perceiv'd nothing of our Decampment till Noon the next Day, still depending upon the Treaty which I had set on foot; and then the River was so swell'd, it was past four in the Afternoon before any Party durst venture over to pursue us. The first that pass'd was the Count *di Cajazzo* with two hundred *Italian* Horse, but the Current was so strong, they pass'd in a great deal of Danger, and as I was told afterwards, a Man or two were drown'd. In the mean time we march'd on through woody and uneven Ways, where we could go but one a-breast for near six Miles together; but at last we came into a fair Plain, where our Van, Artillery, and Baggage were arriv'd before, and were so

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*The Retreat of Charles VIII. after the Battle of Fornova.*

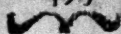
numerous and great, that at first sight they frightened us, when we saw the white Colours chequer'd with Red, which belong'd to Signior *John James di Trivulce*, and were like those which were carried before the Marquis of *Mantua* in the Fight. Our Van were in no less fear of our Rear, seeing them at a distance out of the Road, and marching towards them as fast as they could; upon which both Parties stood to their Arms, and drew up in Order of Battle: but that Fear was soon over, for our Scouts met immediately, and knew one another; so we march'd to *Borgo San-Donino*, where we halted and refresh'd our Men, and where also a false Alarm was given on purpose to get our *Swiss* out of the Town, lest they should have plunder'd it. From thence we march'd and took up our Quarters that Night at *Florenfola*, and the second Night near *Placenza*, where we pass'd the *Trebia*, but left two hundred Lances, our *Swiss*, and all our Artillery, except six Pieces, on the other side of the River: and this the King did, that his Army might encamp more commodiously, not doubting but that those Troops might have pass'd it when he pleas'd; for the River is commonly low, and especially at that time of the Year: However about Ten a-Clock at Night it swell'd so fast no Body could get over either on Foot or on Horseback; neither could one Party have reliev'd the other, in case of Necessity, which was very dangerous, considering how near the Enemy was to us. All that Night was spent on both sides in contriving a Remedy, but nothing would do till the Water fell of it self, which was about Five in the Morning. Then we threw over Ropes to the other side to help the Passage of our Foot, who were forc'd to

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wade up to the Waste. When they were over, the Horse and Artillery came after, but with great Difficulty and Danger, not only from the Garrison of *Placenza*, but from the Count *di Cajazzo*, who was got into the Town, upon Intelligence, that there were Designs to betray it to the King, but it was upon the Title of a young Son of *John Galeas* the last Duke of *Milan*, who died not long before, as you have heard. If the King would have accepted such Overtures as these, several other Persons and Towns would willingly have come in, by the Interest of Signior *John James di Trivulce*; but he would not hearken to any thing so prejudicial to the Pretensions of his Cousin the Duke of *Orleans*, who was then in *Novara*; and yet to speak impartially on the other hand, his Majesty was not pleas'd with the Grandeur and Power of his Cousin; but his chief Design was to march on with his Army, and leave those Disputes to be adjusted as they could. The third Day after the Battle the King din'd at *Castel San-Giovanni*, and lay in a Wood; the fourth he din'd at *Voghera*, and lay at *Pont-Curon*; the next Night he lay near *Tortona*, where he pass'd the River *Scrivia*, which *Fracasse* was to make good; for the Garrison of *Tortona* was for the Duke of *Milan*, and commanded by him: But when he was inform'd by our Quarter-Masters that the King intended not to stay, he retir'd into the Town, and sent us word, that he would furnish us with what Provisions we pleas'd; and he faithfully perform'd his Promise; for our whole Army marching under the Walls of the Town, *Fracasse* came out (in his Arms) to wait upon the King, but attended only by two Persons; he excus'd himself as handsomly as he could for not quartering



us in the Town, sent out for more Provisions, A. D. 1495.  
 (so that our Army was plentifully furnish'd) and came again at Night to pay his Respects to the King at his Tent. But you must know he was of the House of *St. Severino*, Brother to the Count *di Cajazzo*, and the Lord *Galeas*; and not long before had serv'd the King in *Romania*, as has been already observ'd. From thence our next March was to *Nice de la Paille*, which belong'd to the Marquisate of *Montferrat*, and glad we were to reach that Place; for then we were safe, and in the Country of our Friends. Before our Arrival there, the Enemies Light Horse under the Command of the Count *di Cajazzo*, were perpetually at our heels, and gave us great Disturbance; for few of our Horse were willing to be in the Rear, because the nearer we approach'd to a Place of Security, the more difficult it was to persuade them to fight. Some say 'tis the Nature of the *French*, and *Italian* Authors have written, that in their Attacks they are more than Men, but less than Women in their Retreats. The first part of their Character I believe, for certainly upon a Charge they are the fiercest Nation in the World (I mean their Cavalry) but at the End of an Engagement there is no Nation in the World but is less daring and courageous, than they were in the Beginning of the Action. But to continue our Discourse: Our Rear was brought up by three hundred *Swiss*, with several Field-pieces, and a strong Body of *Arquebusers* on Horse-back, who beat off their *Estradiots*. However the Grand Army which fought us was pursuing with all possible Diligence, but beginning their March a Day after us, and being heavily arm'd, they could not get up to us; so that we lost not a Man in

*The Nature of the French in relation to Fighting.*

1495. A. D. our Retreat, nor could they ever come within a Mile of our Rear. When they found they could not come up with us (and perhaps they never desir'd it) they turn'd off towards *Novara*, where, as we said before, the Duke of *Milan* and the *Venetians* had another Army; but if they could have reach'd us as soon as we began our Retreat, in all probability they had succeeded better than in the Valley of *Fornova*.

I have said in several Places of these *Memoirs*, that I have seen and by Experience found, that God was our Conductor in this Expedition into *Italy*; yet it is convenient for me to repeat it again, for tho' from the time of the Battle to our Arrival at *Nice de la Paille*, our Quarters were unequally taken up; yet we bore the Hardships and Inconveniencies of the long March, without raising any Mutiny or murmuring in the least. Our great Want was of Provisions, yet we were in some measure supply'd by the Country People, who might easily have poison'd us if they had pleas'd, not only in our Victuals and Wines, but in our Waters too, and our Wells, which might have been dry'd up in a moment; for I do not remember I saw any but what were very small, and would in a moment sometimes be dry'd up. If they had had a mind to have destroy'd us by Poison, it was in their power to have done it, and therefore we may reasonably believe our Saviour and Redeemer Jesus Christ prevented that Desire in them. I have seen our Men so dry, that our Foot in great Numbers have lain down upon their Bellies, and drank out of Ditch-  
endur'd inches about the little Villages through which we march'd. Our Marches were long, and our Drink nothing but standing Water that stunk; and yet our Men were so greedy, they ran them-

The Hard-  
ships the  
French  
endur'd in  
their Re-  
treat.

themselves up to the Waft to come at it ; for we had Multitudes which follow'd the Camp, and were not Soldiers, but belong'd to our Mules. The King always march'd before Day, but never took a Guide with him, nor baited till Noon, and then he din'd ; and those that attended him took what care they could of themselves. No Man in the whole Army, tho' of the best Quality, was excus'd from looking to his own Horse, but every one brought his own Straw or Hay in his Arms. Twice I did it my self, and was two Days without eating any thing but Bread, and that none of the best ; yet I suffer'd not so much Hardship as others did. Our Army was highly to be commended for one thing, and that is, that I never heard any of our Soldiers complain ; and yet it was the most painful and incommodious March I ever made, tho' I have been in several bad enough with *Charles Duke of Burgundy*. We march'd no faster than our Artillery, and were often forc'd to halt, on purpose to mend 'em, which besides the want of Horses to draw 'em, incommoded us extremely ; but whenever we were hard put to it, we were generously supply'd by the Officers of the Army : so that we lost not one Piece, nor one Pound of Powder in our Retreat ; and yet I am of Opinion never any Man saw Guns of their bigness convey'd with such Expedition through such unpassable Places. When I have mention'd any thing of Disorder or Inconvenience in our Quarters elsewhere, it was not for want of good Officers, and Men of Experience in our Army ; but (as Fortune would have it) they had no Authority with the King, who was young and untractable, as I said before ; so that to conclude, our Saviour Jesus Christ did most manifestly reserve the

A. D.

1495.



A. D. 1495. *The Arrival of Charles VIII. at Asti.* Glory of that Voyage to himself. The seventh Day after the Battle we march'd from *Nice de la Paille*, and encamp'd all together in the Field, not far from *Alexandria*. We doubled our Guards that Night, and kept very strict Watch, and the next Morning we march'd to *Asti*, (that is to say, the King and those that attended on him) for the Army continu'd in the Field. We found the Town of *Asti* well furnish'd with Provisions, which was a great Refreshment to our wearied Troops, who wanted them sufficiently, having endur'd much Hunger, Thirst, Labour, Heat, and Watching; and after all had no Clothes to their Backs, to defend them from the Weather. As soon as the King was in *Asti*, about an Hour before Bed-time, I dispatch'd one *Philip de la Courdre* (who had formerly been mine, but was then a Servant to the Duke of *Orleans*) to *Novara*, where the Duke was besieg'd, tho' not so close, but People might get in and out; for their Design was only to starve 'em. I sent him word by this Gentleman, that our King had several Treaties on foot with the Duke of *Milan*, (one of which I manag'd by the Duke of *Ferrara's* means) for which reason I thought it convenient he should immediately wait on the King, after he had assur'd his Party in the Town that he would return in a short time, or send them Relief. They were no less than 7500 Men in Pay, and as fine a Body of Troops (for their number) both *French* and *Swiss*, as ever were seen in the Field. By that time the King had been a Day at *Asti*, he had Intelligence from the Duke of *Orleans*, and other Places, that the Enemies two Armies were join'd before *Novara*; and the Duke press'd hard for Supplies, for (by reason of their Imprudence at first) their Provisions

sions began to fail ; but had they been so provident when they came into the Town, as they ought to have been, they need not have been in Distress ; for there was Plenty enough in the Villages about it, especially of Corn, which if brought timely into the Town, and carefully laid up in Magazines, they would not have been forc'd to surrender : for had they held out but one Month longer, they had come off honourably themselves, and the Enemy with Shame and Confusion.

A. D.

1495.

## C H A P. VIII.

*Of the King's fitting out a Fleet with an Intention to have reliev'd the Castles of Naples ; and of the Miscarriage of that Design.*

AS soon as the King had refresh'd himself some few Days at *Asti*, he march'd to *Turin* ; and at his Departure from *Asti* he dispatch'd one *Peron de Bascbe*, the Steward of his Household, to set out a Fleet with all speed for the Relief of the Castles of *Naples*, which held out for the King. He obey'd his Majesty's Orders, rigg'd out his Fleet, and gave the Command of it to the Lord *d'Arban*, who sail'd with it as far as the City of *Pisa*, or the Isle of *Procita*, within sight of the Enemy ; but the Weather was bad and would not suffer them to engage ; so that the Fleet came to nothing ; for the Lord *d'Arban* returning to *Legborne*, most part of his Men got on Shoar, and ran away from their Ships, and the Enemy came with their Fleet into

A. D. 1495. the Port of *Portobarato*, not far from *Piombino*, where he continued two Months compleat, so that our Men sent some small Supplies into *Naples*, by reason that the Nature of this Port is such, that unless it be by one single Wind they can hardly get out, and that Wind blows seldom in Winter. The Lord *d'Arban* was (c) valiant in his Person, and a very skilful Admiral.

During the King's Stay at *Turin* many Proposals pass'd between the King and the Duke of *Milan*, and some by the Mediation of the Dutches of *Savoy*, who was the Marquis of *Montferrat's* Daughter, a Widow, and Mother to the young Duke that was then living : Others were transacted by other People : I was also concern'd ; for the Confederates (by whom I mean the Commanders at that time before *Novara*) had a great desire to have me employ'd in it, and sent me a Passport ; but (as there are always Emulations at Court) the Cardinal would not suffer it, but prevail'd that the Overture by the Dutches of *Savoy* might be preferr'd, which was manag'd by the Cardinal's Landlord, who was Treasurer of *Savoy*, a wise Man, and a good Servant to his Mistress : This Treaty took up a long time, upon which the Bailiff of *Dijon* was sent into *Swisserland*, to raise 5000 of their Men.

I have already mention'd the Equipping our Fleet at *Nice*, and its setting Sail for the Relief of the Castles of *Naples*, but it could not be effected for the above-mention'd Reasons ; upon which the Lord *de Montpensier*, and the rest of

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(c) *Guicciardine* says that the Lord *d'Arban* was no good Admiral, and therefore in all Probability this Passage is corrupted.



the Officers that were in the Castles aforesaid, A. D. (perceiving their Condition) by the Means of 1495. the Army which was left in divers Places for the Defence of that Kingdom, and was then drawn as near the Castle as possible, resolv'd to quit it, leaving a Number to defend the Castles proportionable to the Provisions which were left; for they were too little to sustain them all along, and having given the Command of them to *Ognas* and two other Officers of Conduct and Experience, the Lord *de Montpensier*, the Prince of *Salerno*, the Seneschal of *Beaucaire* and others, march'd off with two thousand five hundred Men, for *Salerno*. King *Ferrand* pretended it was contrary to their Treaty, and that the Hostages which they had given him a few Days before, which were the Lord *d'Alegre*, Monsieur *de la Marche d'Ardain*, the Lord *de la Chapel d'Anjou*, Monsieur *Roquebertin* a *Catalonian*, and one Monsieur *Genly*, were at his Mercy, and he might lawfully put 'em to Death. You must understand that some three Months before, by the Intelligence of the Enemy, and our ill Order, King *Ferrand* got into the Town, tho' our Men had Notice of all his Designs. I would enlarge upon this, but I can say nothing but by Hear-say, (yet I had it from very good Hands) however it is not my Method to insist upon any thing that I was not an Eye-Witness of. While King *Ferrand* was in *Naples*, he receiv'd the News of our Master's being kill'd in the Battle of *For-nova*; and our Men in the Castle had the same, from several Letters and Stories forg'd by the Duke of *Milan*, which they believed as readily as the *Colonnei*, who revolted from us immediately, as desiring to be always of the strongest side, tho' (as we said before) they were extremely oblig'd

A. D. oblig'd to the King. Upon these Reports, but 1495. chiefly because our Men were retir'd in great Numbers into the Castle (where Provisions were scarce) and had lost all their Horses and Household-stuff in the Town, they came to a Treaty the 6th of October, 1495. (after they had been besieg'd three Months and fourteen Days) and about three Weeks after the Treaty they march'd away. They had promis'd, that if they were not reliev'd by a certain Day, they would march off into *Provence*, and leave the Castles without farther Act of Hostility against that Kingdom, either by Sea or by Land; for Performance of which the said Hostages were given. And as King *Ferrand* alledg'd, they had broken their Promise by departing without leave; so ours affirm'd the contrary; but the Hostages were in no little Danger, and not without Cause. Whatever their Articles were, I think our Men did wisely to march away; but they had done better if they had deliver'd up the Castles when they went, and taken their Hostages along with them: for by reason of their want of Provisions and their Despair of Relief, they were forc'd to surrender them within twenty Days after, and the Loss of the Castle of *Naples* was the Loss of the whole Kingdom.

*The Loss  
of the Ca-  
stle of  
Naples of  
great Con-  
sequence  
to the  
French.*

## C H A P. IX.

A. D.

1495.

*Of the Famine and Misery the Duke of Orleans and his Army were reduc'd to at Novara : Of the Death of the Marchioness of Montferrat : Of the Death of the Duke of Vendome ; and the Conclusion of a Peace for the Preservation of the besieg'd, after several Negotiations.*

**T**HE King, during his Stay at Turin, or at Quiers, (whither he went sometimes for his Diversion) grew impatient for the Swiss he had sent the Bailiff of Dijon to raise in Swisserland ; being extremely desirous, if possible, to restore the young Duke of Milan, having but little Regard to the Distress of his Cousin the Duke of Orleans, who began to be streighten'd in Provisions, and sent Couriers to us every Day to hasten our March in order to relieve him. The Enemy was advanc'd in their Approaches, and gotten nearer the Town than ever ; besides, they were reinforc'd with a thousand German Horse, under the Command of Monsieur Frederick Capelare, of the County of Ferrette, a brave Soldier and an excellent Officer, and brought up both in the Wars of Italy and France ; they had a Recruit likewise of eleven thousand Dutch Foot, out of the Territories of the King of the Romans, commanded by (a) Monsieur George Dabecfn, a

(a) In other Authors he is nam'd Georgio de Pierrapiana.  
Native



A. D. Native of *Austria*, a Person of great Valour, and  
 1495. the very same that took *St. Omers* for the King  
 of the *Romans*.

The King seeing the Enemy's Army daily re-inforc'd, and that no honourable Terms were to be expected, was perswaded to retire to *Vercelli*, and there to concert Measures how to relieve the Duke of *Orleans*, who (as is said before) had taken no Care to erect any Magazines for the Subsistence of his Army upon his first Entrance into *Novara*; and certainly it had been much better for the Duke to have follow'd the Advice which I gave him upon the King's Return to *Asti*, to put all useless Persons out of the Town, and repair himself to the King; for his Presence would have advanc'd his Affairs; at least the Troops he had left behind would not have been reduc'd to such Extremity of Hunger, for he would have capitulated sooner, when he had found there was no Hopes of Relief. But the Arch-bishop of (*b*) *Roan*, who was with him at the taking of *Novara*, and was then with the King, to solicit in his behalf, sent him Word not to stir, and assur'd him of Relief; grounding his Confidence upon the Promises of the Cardinal of *St. Malo*, who was the only Man with the King. The Arch-bishop spoke as his Affection prompted him, but I was assur'd of the contrary; for no body had any Inclination to return to the Battle, unless the King went in Person, and his Majesty had no Inclination to that, the Dispute being only about that Town,

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(*b*) *George d'Amboise*, afterwards a Cardinal, and chief Minister of State to *Lewis XII.* from 1498 to 1509. He died at *Leon*.

which

which the Duke of *Orleans* desir'd to keep, and the Duke of *Milan* to recover; because being within ten Leagues of *Milan*, he thought it necessary that they should be both under one Jurisdiction, there being nine or ten great Cities within a small Compass depending upon the said Dutchy. However, *Lodowick Sforza* offer'd fair, that if we would deliver up *Novara*, and not disturb him in *Genoa*, in other things he would serve the King to the utmost of his Power.

Several great Convoys of Provision, both of Corn and Meal, were sent into *Novara*; but they always left half by the Way; and once a small one of sixty Men at Arms, under the Command of *Chastillon* (a young Gentleman belonging to our Court) was quite broken, some taken, some few entred, and others with great Difficulty escap'd; so that 'tis not to be imagin'd the Extremity the Garrison was reduc'd to. Every Day some or other were starv'd to Death, two Parts in three were afflicted with Distempers, of which we had pitiful and continual Accounts, both in Ciphers and otherwise, which came to us with very great Difficulty. We constantly gave them fair Promises, and as constantly deceiv'd them; those who had the sole Administration of Affairs were very inclinable to fight; but they did not consider that no body desir'd it besides themselves, for the great Officers, as the Prince of *Orange*, (whom, upon his late Arrival, the King often consulted in military Affairs) and all the Officers of the Army desir'd things might be compos'd and adjusted by a Peace, because Winter was approaching, Money wanting, their Army but weak and sickly, and Soldiers deserting daily, whilst others were dismiss'd by the King: Yet all the wise Men in the

A. D.

1495.

*The great  
Distress  
and Want  
to which  
the Army  
of the  
Duke of  
Orleans  
was re-  
duc'd.*

A. D. 1495. the Camp were not able to persuade the Bishop of *Roan* from encouraging the Duke of *Orleans*, and Writing to him not to leave *Novara*; by which Advice they brought him into a great deal of danger; but this Advice proceeded from an Expectation of great Recruits out of *Switzerland*, which the Bailiff of *Dijon* had assur'd them he could raise. Some of our Courtiers wrote to him to bring as many Troops as he could assemble; thus our Councils were divided, and every Man wrote as he pleas'd. Those who were averse to an Accommodation, or to any Meeting about it, pretended the Enemy ought to make some Overtures first, and that it did not consist with the King's Honour to begin; and the Enemy being as high on their side, the poor Garrison in *Novara* suffer'd incredibly, and their Letters were full of nothing but Relations of their Miseries, assuring us first they could not hold out above ten Days, then eight, and at last three; but they had exceeded the Time which they had formerly set. To be short, such Necessities had not been known in our time, nor so great a Famine in an hundred Years before.

*The Death  
of the  
Marchioness  
of  
Montfer-  
rat.*

During this Posture of Affairs the Marchioness of *Montferrat* died, and left her Country involv'd in some Troubles in Respect of the Competition for its Government. The Marquis of *Saluzzo* pretended to it on one side, and the Lord *Constantine* Uncle to the Marchioness, on the other, who was a *Greek* as well as his Niece, who was the King of *Servia*'s Daughter, but both of them ruin'd by the *Turks*. This Lord *Constantine* had fortified the Castle of *Casale*, where he kept as Prisoners the two Sons (the eldest being scarce nine Years old) of his Nephew the Marquis, by that beautiful



beautiful and discreet Lady his Niece, who died in the twenty ninth Year of her Age, and was a constant Friend to the *French*. Other Persons pretended likewise to the Government, and there was great contesting before the King by their respective Agents, who endeavour'd to support the Interest of their respective Masters. The King commanded me thither, with Instructions to settle things for the Advantage of the young Children, and the general Satisfaction of the People; fearing lest by those Differences the Duke of *Milan* should be brought in, for the Lord of that Country was his very good Ally. I was extremely concern'd at my Orders, especially being to depart before I could set the Treaty of Peace on Foot again; for I was sensible in what Condition the Town was. I saw Winter approaching, and apprehended lest the (c) Prelates should bring the King to a new Battle, who (unless mightily supply'd from *Swisserland*) would be probably too weak, and if the Supplies were as numerous as they were reported to be, it would not be safe for the King to venture himself in their Hands; besides, the Enemy was powerful, strongly encamp'd, and very well fortified. Upon these Considerations, I presum'd to let the King know, that in my Judgment he would put himself and his Kingdom in very great Hazard, upon a small and trifling Occasion; that the Danger which he escap'd at the Battle of *Fornova* ought not to be forgotten, but there he was under a Necessity, here he was not. Wherefore I did humbly recommend

A. D.

1495.

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(c) The Cardinal of St. *Malo*, and the Arch-bishop of *Roan*.

A. D. 1495. to him not to defeat himself of an honourable Accommodation, upon the Ceremony of the

first Overture ; yet if he pleas'd to authorize me, I question'd not but to make a Peace without the least Dishonour to either side. He reply'd, that he would have me mention it to the Cardinal, and so I did, but he gave me strange unaccountable Answers, expressing an Inclination to fight, and making sure of the Victory ; and he told me the Duke of Orleans had promis'd whenever he came to the Dutchy of Milan to give him ten thousand Ducats a Year for one of his Sons. The next Morning I went to wait on the King, and take my Leave of his Majesty, in order to begin my Journey to *Casale* (which would cost me about a Day and a half) I met the Lord *de la Trimouille* there, acquainted him with what had pass'd (he being in great Favour with the King) and desir'd his Judgment whether I ought to mention the Affair to him again ; he told me by all means, for every body was very desirous of Peace. The King was at that time in the Garden ; I reviv'd the Discourse before the Cardinal, who told me that he being an Ecclesiastick, it was most proper for him to begin it. I answer'd, if he did not, I would ; for I perceiv'd the King was inclinable enough, and all that were about him : After which I took my Leave ; and at my Departure I told the Prince of Orange (who commanded the Army in chief) that if I began any thing in that Business, my Addresses should be to him ; and so I went to *Casale*, where I was well receiv'd by all of that Family, and found them all unanimous for the Lord *Constantine*, as a Person fitter for the Guardianship of the Children, as being incapable of the Succession, to which the Marquis of *Saluzzo* pretended

*The Presumption and Avarice of the Cardinal.*

pretended a Right. I caus'd a Convention several Days together, both of the Nobility, Clergy, and Towns-men, and at the Request of most of them, I declar'd that it was my Master's Pleasure that the Lord *Constantine* should be continu'd in the Government; for considering the King's Force on that side of the Mountains, and the Affection that Court had always retain'd to the Court of *France*, I presum'd they would not contradict the King's Desires.

A. D. 1495.  
The Lord Constantine confirm'd in the Government of Montferrat, by Charles VIII.

I had scarce been three Days at *Casale* before there arriv'd a Gentleman from the Marquis of *Mantua*, Captain-General for the *Venetians*, in a Complement of Condolance upon the Death of the late *Marchioness*, as being related to the Family of *Montferrat*: This Gentleman was Steward of the Marquis's Household, and he and I by Degrees began to consult how we might prevent the Battle that was like to be shortly; for all things tended to War, and the King was encamp'd not far from *Vercelli*; though to speak the Truth he himself only pass'd the River, and let his Army encamp there, which was but ill provided with Tents and Pavilions, for they had brought but few with them, and those few were lost; besides the Ground was moist, for Winter was coming on, and the Country but low.

The King lay but one Night in the Camp, and return'd next Morning to the Town; but the Prince of *Orange* remain'd with the Army, and with him the Counts *de Foix* and *Vendosme*, the latter of which fell into a Dysentery and died, to the unspeakable Sorrow of the whole Army; for he was a Person of great Valour and Conduct, and came thither Post upon the Report of a Battle; but he was not with the King in his Voyage into *Italy*. There were likewise the Marshal *de*

The Death of Francis de Bourbon, Count de Vendosme.



A. D. 1495. Giè, and several other Commanders, but their principal Force were the *Swiss*, who had been in *Italy* with the King; for the *French* being so near home, were very unwilling to stay any longer in the Camp, and several had already left it, some with Leave, and others without it. From *Vercelli* to *Novara* was ten good *Italian* Miles, that is, six *French* Leagues; the Country enclos'd and dirty, with Ditches on both sides the Road, much deeper than those in *Flanders*: In Winter the Ways are full of Dirt, and in Summer of Dust. Between our Army and *Novara* there was a little Town call'd *Borgo*, which we had taken Possession of, and they had another about the same Distance from them call'd *Camarian*; but the Waters being up, the Passage was very difficult from one Army to the other.

*The Author's cunning Management of his Masters Affairs.*

But as I was saying; the Steward of the Marquis of *Mantua's* Household and I continued our Conferences: I gave him several Reasons why his Master ought to be cautious of coming to a Battle. I put him in Mind of the Danger he had lately escap'd, and that he would expose himself for a People who had never rewarded him for any Service he had done, and that therefore his wisest Method would be to endeavour an Accommodation, and I promis'd to do all the good Offices that lay in my Power towards it. He replied, that his Master was well enough inclin'd, but that it would be necessary (as I had receiv'd Word before) that we should make the first Overture, because they look'd upon the Alliance, consisting of the *Pope*, the King of the *Romans*, the King of *Spain*, and the Duke of *Milan*, to be of greater Dignity than a single Monarch. I answer'd that that Punctilio was idle and trifling, and that in Justice our King was to be

be preferr'd, because he was there in Person, A. D.  
 and the Confederates only by their Lieutenants: 1495.  
 But I offer'd, if he pleas'd, that he and I would  
 set the Treaty on Foot, provided I could be as-  
 sur'd his Master would continue it, and stand to  
 the Determination. It was concluded that I  
 should send a Trumpet to their Army the next  
 Morning, and that I should write to Signior  
*Luques Pisano*, and Signior *Melchior Trevisano*,  
 the two *Proveditors*, (which are Commissioners  
 appointed to advise their Generals, and inspect  
 the Affairs of the Army.) In pursuance of what  
 we concluded, I wrote to the *Proveditors* what I  
 had mention'd before to the Marquis of *Mantua's*  
 Steward; and had a fair Opportunity to offer  
 my Mediation, upon the Agreement between  
 us at my Departure from *Venice*: Besides I knew  
 the King was desirous of Peace, and I thought  
 it necessary, for there are always enough to  
 perplex and exasperate an Affair, but few that  
 have the good Fortune and Courage together,  
 to compose so great a Difference, or to endure  
 so many hard Words as are inseparable from the  
 Plenipotentiaries in such Negotiations; for in  
 great Multitudes there is Variety of Opinions.  
 The *Proveditors* were glad of the News, sent me  
 Word I should have an Answer very suddenly,  
 sent Post to *Venice* for Instructions, and having  
 a speedy Answer from the Senate, a Count be-  
 longing to the Duke of *Ferrara* was sent to our  
 Army. The Duke of *Ferrara* had one Son in  
 the Duke of *Milan's* Service, and another in the  
 King's; the Count also was in the Duke of *Milan's*  
 Service, (his Name was *Albertini*) but his Pretence  
 of coming into our Army was to visit Signior *John*  
*James di Trivulce*, and to enquire after a Son of his  
 who was then in his Service: He made his Appli-  
 cations

A. D. 1495. cations to the Prince of *Orange*, according to the Agreement between the Steward and I, and told him that he had a Commission from the Marquis of *Mantua* to desire a Pass-port for the Marquis, and fifty Horse, to meet and confer with such Persons as the King should depute; to acknowledge that in Reason they ought to make the first Overture to the King, or such as he should appoint; or to declare that they would pay him that Honour; and then he desir'd he might have a private Conference with his Majesty, which was granted him, and in which he advis'd him not to set any Treaty on Foot, assuring him that their Army was in great Consternation, and would break up in a very short time; by these Words he seem'd desirous to obstruct that Peace which he was sent to promote, though his Commission was as you have heard. *John James di Trivulce* was present when he gave the King this Advice, and being a great Enemy to the Duke of *Milan*, he had no Mind to the Peace; but above all, no Man was so averse as Count *Albertini's* Master, the Duke of *Ferrara*, who desir'd the Continuation of the War upon an old Pique against the *Venetians*, for taking and detaining from him several Territories, as the *Polesan* and others, and was come himself into the Army of the D. of *Milan*, who had married his Daughter. As soon as the King had heard what the Count had to offer, his Majesty sent for me, and it was warmly debated whether a Pass-port should be granted or not. Those who were against the Peace (as Signior *John James di Trivulce*, and others, who thought themselves great Favourers of the Interest of the Duke of *Orleans*) were for fighting by all means, but they were most of them Church-men, and not like to be in the Battle,



A. D.

1495.

Battle, and they pretended to have certain Intelligence that the Enemy must suddenly raise the Siege, or be starv'd to Death. Others objected, (and I was of that Number) that we should be starv'd first; that they were in their own Country, and their Power too great to be so easily destroy'd, and that such Counsels proceeded from Persons who had a mind to engage us in their Quarrels, and set us together by the Ears purely to gratifie their own Revenge and Ambition. Yet for all this the Pass-port was granted and sent, signifying besides, that the next Day at two of the Clock in the Afternoon, the Prince of Orange, the Marshal *de Giè*, the Lord *de Piennes*, and my self, with our Retinue, should be between *Borgo* and *Camarian*, near a certain Tower, in which they had a Guard, and that there we should be ready to enter into a Conference. At the appointed Hour we went to the Place under a strong Guard. The Marquis of *Mantua*, and a *Venetian* who had the Command of their *Estradiots*, came to us; and in very civil Language told us, that for their Parts they were for Peace. For better convenience of Treating, it was agreed, that the next Day some of their Deputies should come into our Army, and that the Day after some of ours should go into theirs; which was done. The next Morning there came to us *Francisco Bernardino Visconti* in the Name of the Duke of *Milan*, and a Secretary from the Duke of *Mantua*. On our side, besides the Persons above-mention'd we had added to us the Cardinal of *Saint Malo*, and we began to treat. They demanded *Novara*, and we insisted upon *Genoa* (as feudatory to the King) which the Duke of *Milan* had confiscated: They excus'd themselves as to that, assur'd us that their

A. D. 1495. Master had acted nothing against ours, but what was in his own Defence : That the Duke of Orleans had taken Novara from them by Force, and began the War with our King's Forces, and that therefore they did believe their Masters would be hardly persuaded to agree to our Demands; but in any thing else would be ready to comply. Our Conferences lasted two Days, after which they return'd to their Army, whither the Marshal de Giè, the Lord de Piennes, and my self, sent after them, to press the Restitution of Genoa. We would have been content that Novara should have been surrendred to the King of the Roman's Forces, which were commanded by Signior George di Pierrapiana, the Lord Frederick Capellare, and another call'd Monsieur Hance; for we found it was not to be reliev'd without a Battle, which we had no great Inclination to venture, and by this Means (as we pretended) we propos'd to 'acquit our selves very honourably to the Emperor, upon whom the whole Dutchy of Milan depended. Several Goings and Comings there were between our Camp and theirs; but we came to no manner of Conclusion. I continu'd with them by our Master's Direction, (who was unwilling the Treaty should be broken off) and at last we came to them again; and with us we brought the President de Gannay, and one Monsieur Morviller, Bailiff of Amiens, to treat with them in Latin (for till then I had manag'd the Conferences in Italian, which I spoke but very indifferently) and draw up the Articles. Our Manner of Treating was to go to the Duke's Quarters, and he in Complaisance us'd to meet us with his Dutcheß at the End of a Gallery, and then to put us all before him into his Chamber, where

where there were two great Rows of Chairs A. D.  
 ready set, as close as was convenient, and op- 1495.  
 posite to each other. They plac'd themselves on  
 one side, and we on the other. The first on  
 their side was the Commissioner for the King of  
 the *Romans*, then the *Spanish* Ambassador, then  
 the Duke of *Mantua*, after him the two *Proveditors*,  
 then the *Venetian* Ambassador, then the Duke and  
 Dutcheſs of *Milan*, and last of all the Duke of  
*Ferrara*: On their side none spoke but the Duke  
 of *Milan*, and on our side no body but one. It  
 is not our Method to discourse with that Sedate-  
 ness of Temper as they do; for sometimes two  
 or three of us were speaking at a time; but the  
 Duke interrupted us, with *Hold, Gentlemen, one*  
*to one is fair*. Being oblig'd to digest all into Ar-  
 ticles, whatever was agreed upon was immedi-  
 ately put into Writing by one of our Secretaries  
 for us, and by another of theirs for them, which  
 were read aloud by the Secretaries, one in *Italian*  
 and the other in *French*, as was done also at our  
 next Meeting for Expedition-sake, and to see  
 whether any thing had been chang'd; and 'tis a  
 good way of dispatch in any Affair of Importance.  
 This Treaty held about a Fortnight or longer;  
 but the first day of our Conference it was conclu-  
 ded the D. of *Orleans* might have Liberty to come  
 out of *Novara*, to which end a Cessation of Arms  
 was agreed upon for that Day, and continu'd from  
 Day to Day till the Conclusion of the Peace; and  
 for Surety for the Passage of the Duke of *Orleans*,  
 the Marquis of *Mantua* deliver'd himself as an  
 Hostage into the Hands of the Count *de Foix*,  
 but he did it voluntarily, and more upon his own  
 Pleasure than any Fear we had of the Person of  
 the Duke of *Orleans*: yet first they made us  
 swear that we proceeded with Sincerity and ho-

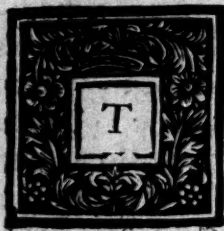
Good In-  
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 tiating  
 Affairs of  
 Import-  
 tance.



A. D. *na fide* in the Treaty of Peace, and that we did  
 1495. not do it purely to deliver the Duke out of Dan-  
 ger.

## C H A P. X.

*Of the Deliverance of the Duke of Orleans  
 and his Army upon Terms of Accommo-  
 dation; Of the Misery they suffer'd during  
 their being besieg'd in Novara; and of the  
 Arrival of the Swifs that came to the  
 Relief of the King, and the said Duke.*



THE Marshal *de Giè* went into the Town of *Novara*, with others deputed from the Duke of *Milan*, and dismiss'd the Duke of *Orleans*, and some few of his Attendants, to their very great Satisfaction. The Garrison and the Inhabitants were so press'd with Hunger and Sicknefs, that the Marshal was forc'd to leave his Nephew *Monsieur de Romifort* as an Hostage, promising they should all depart within three Days. You have heard how the Bailiff of *Dijon* was sent into *Switzerland*, to raise five thousand Men in all the Cantons; but when the Duke of *Orleans* march'd out of *Novara*, they were not arriv'd, and it was well they were not, for had they join'd our Army, certainly (at least in my Judgment) we should have ventur'd a Battle; but if their Number had been far greater than it was, we could not have stay'd till their Arrival, by reason of the extreme Famine in the Town, where

where two thousand People were already dead, some with Hunger, some with Diseases, and the rest so lean and meager, they look'd more like dead than living People; and truly I believe never Men endur'd more Misery, (unless at the Siege of *Jerusalem*) all which had been prevented, if they had been so prudent to have brought in all the Corn and Provisions about the Town upon their first coming into it: Had they acted so wisely, they had never plung'd themselves into those Exigences; for the Enemy would have been oblig'd to have abandon'd the Siege, and to have march'd shamefully off.

Some three or four days after the Duke of Orleans had left the Town, it was agreed on both sides, that the whole Garrison should march out; and the Marquis of *Mantua* and the Lord *Galeas di St. Severino* (who commanded both the *Venetians* and the Duke of *Milan's* Army) had Orders to see them safely conducted, which was perform'd, and the Town left in the Hands of the Inhabitants, with an Oath not to deliver it either to the *French* or the *Italians*, till the Conclusion of a general Peace; only thirty Men were put into the Castle, who were supplied with Provisions by the Duke of *Milan*, but it was for their Money, and they were never to have more Provision at a time than was sufficient for one single day. No Man that did not see it can believe the Poverty of the Garrison that march'd out. They had few or no Horses left, for most of them were eaten: Of the five thousand that march'd out, scarce six hundred of them were able to defend themselves; they fell down frequently in the Road as they march'd along, and the Enemy was forc'd to help them up again. I know those who sav'd fifty of them

A. D.

1495.

The miserable Condition of the Garrison of Nava.

A. D. them for a Crown not far from the little Castle  
 1495. call'd *Camarian*, which was in the Enemy's  
 Possession, by lodging them in a Garden, and gi-  
 ving them warm Broths, so that but one of them  
 died. Upon the Way (it being ten Miles be-  
 tween *Novara* and *Vercelli*) four more of them  
 died. The King (as a Token of his Compassion)  
 caus'd eight hundred Franks to be distributed a-  
 mong those who came to *Vercelli*, as a Benevo-  
 lence besides their Pay, which was paid to a  
 Farthing, both for the living and the dead, and  
 particularly for the *Swiss*, of whom there were  
 near four hundred dead; yet notwithstanding all  
 the Care that could be taken, about thirty of  
 them died in *Vercelli*; some with eating too  
 much, others by Diseases contracted with eating  
 too little, and some with the ill Air and Nasti-  
 ness of the Town.

*A prodigi-  
 ous Num-  
 ber of  
 Swiss en-  
 ter into  
 the King's  
 Service.*

About the Time that all of them had evacu-  
 ated the Town except the thirty in the Castle,  
 (and of them one or other came away every  
 day) the *Swiss* arriv'd in our Army, to the  
 Number of eight or ten thousand, in which we  
 had already about two thousand remaining of  
 our Expedition to *Naples*; there were ten thou-  
 sand more, but they were quarter'd at some Di-  
 stance from *Vercelli*; for the King was advis'd  
 not to suffer the Conjunction of two such great  
 Bodies, which would have amounted to twenty  
 two thousand Men, the greatest Number (I  
 think) that ever came out of their Country at one  
 time, and I have been inform'd by those that  
 were well acquainted with the Affairs of *Swit-  
 zerland*, that they scarce left as many more  
 fighting Men behind them; those who did come  
 came most in spite of our Teeth, and their  
 Wives and Children would also have come a-  
 long



long with them, had we not set Guards up- A. D.  
 on the Avenues in *Piedmont* on purpose to 1495.  
 stop them. It may be demanded whether this  
 extraordinary Alacrity proceeded from any  
 extraordinary Affection; for King *Lewis XI.*  
 had done them many good Offices, and con-  
 tributed much to make them considerable in the  
 World. Indeed there were some old Soldiers  
 who had a Respect for the Memory of King  
*Lewis*; and some of their Officers were above  
 seventy Years old, and had been in the same  
 Commands against *Charles Duke of Burgundy*;  
 but the chief Motive that induc'd them to leave  
 their own Country, was Avarice and Poverty.  
 To speak truth, all their best Men came along  
 with them, and such a number of brave Fel-  
 lows I had never seen before together in my  
 Life; and to me it seem'd impossible to conquer  
 them unless by Cold, Famine, or some other  
 Distress.

*What  
 tempted  
 the Swifs  
 to leave  
 their*

But to return to the principal Point of our  
 Treaty. The Duke of *Orleans* having liv'd eight  
 or ten days at his Ease and Pleasure, and attend-  
 ed by all sorts of People, was told that it was  
 some Diminution to his Honour that such a nu-  
 merous Garrison as was in *Novara*, should be re-  
 duc'd to such Necessities for their Affection to  
 him; upon which he began to talk of Fighting  
 again, and one or two that were about him en-  
 courag'd him to it. Monsieur *de Ligny*, and the  
 Arch-bishop of *Roan* being highly for his Inte-  
 rest, brib'd thirty of the *Swifs* to come of them-  
 selves and offer the Enemy Battle; but without  
 any Reason, for the Duke of *Orleans* had only  
 thirty Men left in the Castle, and there was  
 now no farther Occasion to fight, for the King  
 pretended no Quarrel of his own, but was come  
 thither

A. D. 1495. thither only to rescue his Brother and his Friends; besides, the Enemy was very powerful, and it was impossible to attack them in their Camp; for besides the natural Strength of the Place, they were strongly intrench'd, all the Ditches were full of Water, and there were no Forces but ours to give them any Disturbance, there being no Sallies to be expected out of the Town. Their Army consisted of eight and twenty hundred Men at Arms barb'd; five thousand Horse, and eleven thousand Germans commanded by good Officers, as Signior *George di Pierrapiana*, Count *Frederick Capellare*, and Monsieur *Hance*; besides a great Number of other Foot; so that to talk of attacking them in their Intrenchments, or beating them so easily, was but a Rodomontade, and spoken in Flattery. Another great Jealousy we had, and that was, lest if the *Swiss* should join and make one Body, they would seize upon the King and all the chief Officers of his Army (who were not able to resist their Power) and carry them into their own Country, and of this there was some Design, as you will see by the Conclusion of the Peace.

The Fr.  
grow jea-  
lous of the  
Swiss.

## C H A P. XI.

A. D.

1495.

*Of the Peace that was concluded between the King and the Duke of Orleans on the one Part, and the League on the other ; and of the Conditions and Articles contain'd in that Treaty of Peace.*

**T**HE Debate about this Affair <sup>Divisions</sup> grew at last so fierce amongst <sup>in the</sup> us, that in the Heat of the Ar- <sup>French</sup> gument the Duke of Orleans <sup>Army.</sup> gave the Prince of Orange the Lie ; but at last the Marshal de Giè, the Lord de Piennes, the President Gannay, the Lord Morvillier, the Vidame of Chartres, and I, return'd to the Enemy's Camp, and concluded a Peace, though by several Indications we judg'd it unlikely to continue long ; but we were under a Necessity of doing it, both in respect of the Season of the Year, our Want of Money, and that we might come off honourably in the Business ; to which end the Peace was concluded and engross'd, so as it might be publish'd in the World, which was done afterwards by the King's express Order in Council, and in the Presence of the Duke of Orleans. The Substance of it was, That the Duke of Milan should do Ho- <sup>The Con-</sup> mage to the King for Genoa, and serve him a- <sup>ditions of</sup> gainst all Opposers ; That at his own proper <sup>the Treaty</sup> Charge the Duke of Milan should set out two <sup>of Peace</sup> Ships for the Relief of the Castles of Naples, <sup>between</sup> which yet held out for the King ; That the next <sup>Charles</sup> Year (in case the King made a new Invasion <sup>VIII. and</sup> upon that Kingdom) he should furnish him with <sup>the Princes</sup> three <sup>in Alliance</sup> <sup>against</sup> him.



A. D. 1495. three Ships, and assist him in Person, and give free Passage to his Troops: That in case the *Venetians* did not accept the said Peace in two Months time, but continu'd to assist the House of *Arragon*, that then the Duke was to take part with the King of *France*, and employ his Person and Interest in his Service; upon Condition that whatever was taken from the Enemy, should be deliver'd to the Duke; for which Terms he was to remit to the King eighty thousand of the hundred and eighty thousand Ducats which he had lent him in his Voyage to *Naples*: That for the Affair of *Genoa*, he should put two Hostages into the King's Hands: That the Castle should be committed to the Duke of *Ferrara*, to remain neuter for two Years: That the Duke of *Milan* should pay one half of the Garrison, and the King the other; and that if it should happen the Duke should at any time attempt to surprize the Castle, that then the Duke of *Ferrara* was to deliver it to the King; he was likewise to give two Hostages for *Milan*, which was perform'd; and had done as much for *Genoa* had not the King been in such haste to be gone; but as soon as he went away, the Duke made use of Shifts and Evasions to excuse himself from doing it.

Immediately upon our Return from swearing the Duke of *Milan*, and bringing Word that the *Venetians* had taken two Months to accept or refuse, (for to other Terms we could not persuade them) the King swore likewise to the Peace; and the next day he resolv'd to begin his March, both he and his whole Army having a great Desire to return into *France*: But that very Night the *Swiss* which were in our Camp began to cabal, and hold private Consultations according

to their several Cantons, beating up their Drums, A. D. 1495.  
 and standing to their Arms, (as their manner is when they call any Councils) and this I was inform'd of by Monsieur *Lornay*, who was then (and had been long before) one of their chief Officers, and was well acquainted with their Language, and he gave the King Intelligence of it.

Some propos'd to seize upon the King, and all the chief Officers of the Army : others went not so high, but mov'd that they shou'd demand three Months Pay, pretending an old Promise made them by the late King, that such a Sum should be paid them whenever they came out of their own Country into his Service, with their Colours display'd. Others were for securing the chief Ministers about the King, without meddling with his Person ; and this they design'd to put in Execution, having already got a great Number of their own Troops into the Town ; but before they could come to an Agreement among themselves, the King had left *Trino*, (which is a Town belonging to the Marquis of *Montferrat*) and in this they were much in the wrong, for there was never but one Months Pay promis'd them, and they had done nothing for that. At length this troublesome Affair was adjust'd ; but first those *Swiss* who were with us in the Expedition to *Naples* had seiz'd upon the Bailiff of *Dijon* and Monsieur *Lornay*, (who had commanded them all along) and press'd hard for a Fortnights Pay before they march'd ; but the rest insist'd upon three Months, which in all amounted to five hundred thousand Franks, for the raising of which they should secure them as Hostages ; and to this they were animated by the *French* themselves, who were averse to the Peace ; and of this the Prince

A. D. Prince of Orange was inform'd by one of their  
1495. Captains, and he immediately inform'd the  
King of it.

The King, upon his Arrival at *Trino*, sent the Marshal *de Giè*, the President *Gannay*, and me, to the Duke of *Milan*, to desire that he would come to him thither. We us'd several Arguments to persuade him, and told him it would be a great Confirmation of the Peace; but he gave as many to the contrary, and excus'd himself upon a Proposition which Monsieur *de Ligny* had formerly made to have had him seiz'd upon, when he was with the King at *Pavia*, and upon certain Expressions which the Cardinal of *Saint Malo* had us'd, who at that time was the only Minister of State in credit with the King. 'Tis certain that several idle Words were spoken by some about the Court, but yet the King had a great Desire to cultivate a Friendship with him. The Duke of *Milan* was at a Place call'd *Bolia*, and consented to a Conference, provided it might be upon some River, with a Barrier between them. As soon as the King had receiv'd his Answer he remov'd to *Quiers*, where he staid but a Night or two, and then march'd away for the Mountains, having dispatch'd me for *Venice*, and others for *Genoa*, to see the Ships equipp'd which the Duke of *Milan* was to lend him; but the Duke put the King to a great Expence in Preparations, and at last would not let them go; for instead of keeping his Promise he sent two of 'em to the Enemy.



## C H A P. XII.

A. D.

1495.

*Of the King's Sending the Lord of Argenton to Venice again, to invite the Venetians to accept of the Terms of Peace that were offer'd; the Venetians Refusal, and the Tricks and Jugglings of the D. of Milan.*

**T**H E Business of my Embassy to *The Occa-*  
*Venice* at this time, was, to know *sion of the*  
 whether they would come into *Author's*  
 the Peace, and subscribe to three *second*  
 Articles. The first was to restore *Embassy to*  
*Monopoli*, which they had lately *Venice.*  
 taken from us; the second was to recall the  
 Marquis of *Mantua* and his Forces out of the  
 Kingdom of *Naples*, and the Service of King  
*Ferrand*; and the third was to declare that King  
*Ferrand* was not comprehended in their League,  
 in which mention was made only of the *Pope*,  
 the King of the *Romans*, the King of *Spain*, and  
 the Duke of *Milan*. Upon my Arrival at *Venice*,  
 they receiv'd me very Honourably, but not in  
 the same Manner as when I was there first; for  
 then we were at Peace, but now at War with  
 each other. I deliver'd my Message to the Duke  
 of *Venice*, who complimented me highly, and  
 told me I was very welcome; that he would  
 consult with the Senate, and in a short time re-  
 turn me an Answer. For three Days together  
 they appointed solemn Processions, publick  
 Alms to be given, and Sermons all over the Ci-  
 ty, beseeching God of his Grace to direct them  
 in their Consultations, which as I was inform'd,  
 was no more than what they frequently do upon  
 extraordinary Occasions; and truly in religious  
 Z Affair,

A. D. 1495. Affairs, and in the beautifying and adorning their Churches, it is a City of the greatest Reverence and Decency that I ever saw; and in those things I esteem them equal to the ancient *Romans*, from whose Example I question not but that their Senate derives much of its Grandeur, and it is worthy rather to be augmented than lessen'd. But to the Business of my Embassy, I waited a Fortnight before I had an Answer, and then it was a Refusal of all I had demanded. They told me they had no War with the King, and that what they had done was only to assist and support the Duke of *Milan*, who was their Ally, and whom the King had a Desire to destroy; yet they permitted their Duke to talk with me alone, and he offer'd very advantageous Terms: which were, that King *Ferrand* should do Homage to our King for the Kingdom of *Naples*, and by the Pope's Consent; that King *Ferrand* should pay him a yearly Tribute of fifty thousand Ducats, besides a Sum of Money down upon the Nail, which they would deposite (intending to have the Towns of *Brindisi*, *Otranto*, *Trani*, and others in *Apuglia*, to be put into their Hands for Security for the said Money) that King *Ferrand* should deliver up or leave the King in Possession of some Towns or Places in *Apuglia* for his Security, (and they meant *Tarento*, which our King has still in his Hands) and (if he pleas'd) two or three more, which they offer'd should be on that side, because farthest from them, though they pretended it was for the Convenience of his Designs against the *Turk*, of which our King had talk'd much at his first Entrance into *Italy*, declaring he undertook that Enterprize for no other End but to be nearer and more ready to invade him: But it was an ill Invention,

Offers  
made by  
the Vene-  
tians.

vention, a meer Fraud, and we cannot so easily A. D. conceal our Thoughts from God. The Duke 1495. of *Venice*. offer'd besides, that if our King would attempt any thing against the *Turk*, he should have free Passage for his Troops, through all those Places; and all *Italy* should contribute: The King of the *Romans* would give him Diversion on his side; that the King in Conjunction with them, would be able to govern all *Italy*, in such a Manner, as to compel any of the Princes as should refuse to comply with their Orders; and that for their Part they would assist his Majesty, at their own Charge, with a hundred Gallies at Sea, and five thousand Horse at Land.

When I had my Audience of Leave, I told the Duke and Senate I would report all faithfully to the King. I return'd by *Milan*, and found the Duke of *Milan* at *Vegievene*, and the King's Ambassador with him, who was one *Rigault d'Oreilles*, Steward of his Household. The Duke pretended to go a Hunting, and came out to meet me, (for they are very civil to Ambassadors) and order'd me a very noble Apartment in his Castle. I begg'd the Favour that I might have the Honour of having a private Conference with him, which at last he promis'd me, but with some Signs of Reluctancy. The Castle of *Naples* holding out still for us, I was resolv'd to press for the Ships which he was oblig'd to furnish us with by the Treaty at *Vercelli*: The Ships were ready, and he willing in Appearance; but *Peron de Basche* and *Stephen de Neves* being at that time at *Genoa* from our King, and understanding I was at *Vegievene*, wrote to me immediately, complaining of the Duke of *Milan's* treacherous Way of dealing, who pretended to furnish us with Ships, and had sent two of them against us; that the



A. D. 1495. Governor of *Genoa* had told them one Day, that he could not suffer the Ships to be mann'd with *French*; and another, that there could not be above five and twenty of them permitted to be in any one Vessel, with many such trifling Excuses to protract and gain time, till they had heard the News of the taking the Castle of *Naples*, in which the Duke of *Milan* knew there was not Provision enough for above a Month, and that the King's Forces in *Provence* would be unable to raise the Siege without the Assistance of those Ships; for the Enemy had block'd it up by Sea with a great Fleet, as well of the *Venetians* and the King of *Spain's* as their own. I was three Days with the Duke; the first he spent most in Conference with me; and seem'd to be concern'd that I was not satisfied with his Answer about the Ships, to which he added, that tho' at the Treaty of *Vercelli* he had promis'd to serve the King with two Ships, yet he had never promis'd that they should be mann'd with *French*: I reply'd, that in my Judgment that Excuse was but weak and trifling; for if he should send me a good Mule to pass the Mountains on, what favour would it be if he should oblige me to lead her? I should only have the liberty to see her, but no Advantage without I had leave to mount her. After a long Conference he conducted me into a Gallery apart, where I took an Occasion to remonstrate the great Pains which others and my self had taken about the Treaty at *Vercelli*; and the Danger he would bring upon us by acting so contrary, and causing the King to lose his Castles in *Naples*, which would be the Loss of that Kingdom, and an occasion of perpetual Animosity between my Master and him. I offer'd him the Principality of *Tarento*, and the Dutchy of *Bari*, which Dutchy was already his own.

The Duke  
of Milan's  
fallacious  
Answer to  
Philip de  
Comines.

own. I represented to him the Inconveniencies A. D. 1495.  
 he brought upon himself and all *Italy*, by con-  
 senting that the *Venetians* should hold those Places  
 in *Apuglia*, and he confess'd that what I had  
 urg'd was true, especially in relation to the *Ve-*  
*netians*; but told me plainly at last he could re-  
 pose no Confidence in our King.

After this Discourse I took my leave of the Duke of *Milan*, who conducted me a League in my way home, and even at my Departure he invented a more cunning Lie (if it be decent to use such an Expression towards a Prince) than any of his former: Perceiving I was melancholy, he told me on a sudden (as a Man who had quite chang'd his Resolutions) that he would shew himself my Friend at the last, and do that which should make me acceptable to my Master: He promis'd me that the next Day he would send the Lord *Galeas* (who was the fittest Man for that purpose) to see his Ships at *Genoa* equipp'd and sent away to join our Fleet: That he would do the King that Service as to save his Castle, and by consequence the whole Kingdom of *Naples*, (and if he had perform'd his Promise he had acted like a Man of Honour) and that when the Ships were sail'd, he would give me an account of it by a Letter under his own Hand, that the King might have the first News of it from my self, and be sensible of the Service which I had done him; adding also that his Letters should overtake me before I got to *Lions*. Big with these Hopes, I departed, and continu'd my Journey over the Mountains. I knew the Man, and durst not be too confident; yet I never heard any Post behind me but I fancied he brought me those Letters. I pass'd on till I came to *Chambery*, where I found the Duke of *Savoy*, who receiv'd me very graciously, and oblig'd me to stay a

A. D. whole Day with him. From thence I proceed-  
 1495. ed to *Lions*, (but no Letters overtook me) to give  
 the King an Account of my Transactions; for  
 he was there at that time, giving himself up  
 wholly to Feastings, Jufts and other gay Enter-  
 tainments, without the least Regard to any  
 thing else.

P. de Co- Those who were Enemies to the Peace of *Ver-*  
 mines but *celli* were extremely pleas'd with the Duke of *Mi-*  
 goldly re- *lan's* Prevarication; and indeed they had Reason,  
 ceiv'd at for their Authority was encreas'd by it, and I  
 Court. was traduc'd, which in the like Cases is an ordi-  
 nary thing in the Courts of Princes.

Charles  
 VIII. go-  
 vern'd by  
 his Favou-  
 rites, to  
 his own  
 and the  
 Kingdom's  
 Disadvan-  
 tage.

I was very melancholy and angry: I gave the  
 King a Relation, and shew'd him in Writing the  
 Offers which the *Venetians* had made him; but  
 he seem'd not to value them much, and the Car-  
 dinal of *Saint Malo*, who at that time had the  
 sole Administration of Affairs, valu'd them less.  
 However, I press'd the King again, believing it  
 better to accept that Offer than lose all; for I  
 saw no body about him fit to manage such an  
 important Affair, and those who were able were  
 never consulted, or at least as seldom as possible.  
 The King was inclinable enough of himself, but  
 loth to displease those to whom he had commit-  
 ted his Affairs, especially those who manag'd his  
 Treasury, as the Cardinal, his Brothers and Re-  
 lations. This is a fine Example for Princes. It  
 is necessary that they take upon themselves the  
 Conduct of their own Affairs, at least some-  
 times, and not only call others to Council upon  
 Occasion, but to give them equal Authority and  
 Countenance; for if any Minister of State be  
 grown so great as to become terrible to the rest,  
 and to manage the whole Affairs of a Kingdom  
 according to his Will and Pleasure, (of which  
 sort



fort King *Charles VIII.* was never without one) that Favourite is King in reality, and his Master ill serv'd, as he was always by his Ministers, who did their own Business well enough, but neglected his, to his great Prejudice and Dishonour.

A. D.  
1495.

C H A P. XIII.

*Of the King's forgetting those that were left behind at Naples, upon his Return into France; and of the Dauphin's 'Death, which was a great Affliction to the King and Queen.*

I Arriv'd at *Lions* the 12th of December, 1495. where I found the King and his Army. The King had been abroad in his Expedition about a Year and two Months. The Castles of *Naples* held out still for him, as you have heard: The Lord *de Montpensier*, his Lieutenant in that Kingdom, was at *Salerno* with the Prince of that Place; the Lord *d'Aubigny* was in *Calabria*, where he had done signal Service, tho' under a long Fit of Sicknes; the Lord *Gracian des Guerres* was in *Abruzzo*, Don *Julian* at *Mont St. Angelo*, and *George de Suilly* at *Tarento*; but all of them most miserably poor, and so far abandon'd by our Court, that they could seldom or never receive Advice out of *France*; and when they did, it was nothing but Shams and Promises without effect; for (as is said before) the King did nothing of himself, and if they had been supply'd

A.D. 1495. with Money in time, a sixth Part of what was spent afterwards to no purpose, would have saved that Kingdom from being lost. At length when all was recover'd, they sent them forty thousand Crowns in part of a Year's Pay; and yet if that had arriv'd but a Month sooner, the Calamities and Disgraces which they endur'd, had never beset them, and the Divisions had been prevented; all which was occasion'd through the Sloth and Negligence of the King, who manag'd nothing himself, and would not so much as hear any Body that came from them, and those he employ'd were careless and unexperienc'd, and I fear some of them held a Correspondence with the Pope; so that in appearance God had forsaken our King, and taken away that Grace with which he had hitherto conducted him. The King had not been at *Lions* above two Months, or thereabouts, when he receiv'd the unwelcome News, that the (a) *Dauphin* lay dangerously ill, and three Days after Letters came, that gave an account of his Death. The King was extremely concern'd at first, as he ought to be out of Paternal Affection; yet his Sorrow soon wore off: But the Queen (who was *Anne* Dutchesse of *Bretagne*) took it more to heart than perhaps any other Woman would have done, and it sat longer upon her; and I am afraid, that besides the natural Affliction of Mothers upon the Loss of their Children, her Mind misgave her, and she was ap-

*The Negligence of Charles VIII. the Occasion of his losing Naples.*

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(a) His Name was *Charles Orleans*, and the whole Ceremony of his Christening, which was in 1492, is describ'd at large in the second Volume of the *French Ceremonial*, pag. 138, & 139.

prehensive that some greater Misfortune would A. D. happen to her. The King (as I said before) 1495. having weather'd it himself, had a great Desire to give the Queen some Diversion at a Ball of Young Gentlemen, which the King had appointed; among the rest of the Dancers the Duke of Orleans was one, who was at that time about 34 Years old; but he behav'd himself so, that it was visible to all the Court he rejoic'd at the Dauphin's Death, as being (after him) next Heir to the Crown. Upon which the King and he never spoke to one another for a long time after. The Dauphin was about three Years old when he dy'd, yet very handsome, forward, and undaunted, and not concern'd at those things wherewith other Children are frighted; for which reason his Father was the sooner recover'd, as being fearful already he should have grown considerable too fast, and his Courage encreasing with his Years, that he would have entrench'd upon his Power and Authority; for the King was not excellent either in Person or Understanding, but of the mildest and best Disposition in the World. By this Example we may see to what Miseries great Kings and Princes, who grow jealous of their own Children, are subject. His Father Lewis XI. a Wise and Virtuous Prince, was yet fearful of Charles VIII. but he provided prudently against the worst, and left him the Crown when he was but four-teen Years old. Lewis XI. had been no less terrible to his Father Charles VII. for at the Age of thirteen Years he was in Arms, and confederated against him with certain of the Nobility, upon some Court-Quarrels, and Exceptions against the Government; (and this K. Lewis has often told me himself) yet these Troubles lasted not

Charles VIII. jealous of his Son, who but three Years old.

Three Kings of France successively jealous of their Children.



A. D. not long : But when he came to Man's Estate, he had great Controversy with his Father *Charles VII.* retir'd into *Dauphinè*, and from thence into *Flanders*, leaving *Dauphinè* to his Father, as has been observ'd at the Beginning of these *Memoirs*, in the Reign of *Lewis XI.* No Creature is exempt from Adversity, every Man eats his Bread in Pain and Sorrow : God Almighty promis'd it to our first Parents, and he has perform'd it very punctually ever since to all People. Yet there are Degrees and Distinctions of Sorrow, and the Troubles and Vexations of the Mind are greater than those of the Body ; the Anxiety of the Wise is of one sort, and that of the Fool of another ; but that of the Fools is the greater of the two (tho' some are of a contrary Opinion) because they are less capable of Comfort. The poor People, who labour, drudge, and sweat, to maintain themselves and their Children, and pay their Taxes and Subsidies to their Princes, would have but little Comfort in this World, if Princes and Great Lords were sensible of nothing but Pleasure, and they of nothing but Sorrow. But the thing is quite otherwise ; for should I endeavour to give an account of the Passions and Disorders in which (for these Thirty Years) I have seen several Persons of Quality of both Sexes, it would swell to a Volume. I do not mean such Persons as *Boccace* mentions in his Book, but such as raise the Envy of all People, by their Riches, Health, and Prosperity. Those who have not convers'd with them so much as I have done, believe the Condition of Great Persons to be the happiest in the World ; but I have seen their Troubles and Disquiets, and upon such trifling Occasions, as Persons at a Distance could hardly believe : An idle Ap-

Great Persons  
unhappy as  
well as  
little ones.

Apprehension, or an extravagant Report, disturbs them extremely; and this is the secret Distemper that reigns in the Courts of Great Princes, from whence many Mischiefs do arise to the Sovereign, his Ministers and Subjects, and is so great a Shortner of Life, that there is scarce a King of *France* (since the Time of *Charlemaign*) who liv'd to be sixty Year old. Upon this bare Suspicion, when *Lewis XI.* came to be about that Age, being sick of that Disease, he concluded himself gone. His Father *Charles VII.* who had done so many memorable Things in *France*, took a Fancy that his Courtiers had a Design to poison him, and upon that account eat nothing. *Charles VI.* had his Jealousies too, and became craz'd in his Understanding, and all upon Report. Certainly Princes are guilty of a great Error in not examining, or suffering other People to examine such Tales as concern them, tho' perhaps in themselves of no great Importance: It would keep them from being so frequent, especially if they brought them Face to Face, and confronted the Accused with the Informer; by that means nothing would be reported but what was true. But there are some Princes so stupid as to engage and swear to the Accusers they will never discover them; and these are they who are subject to those Anguishes and Torments of Mind which I speak of, and do many times abhor and injure the best Ministers they have, upon the bare Reports and Calumnies of evil-minded and designing People, by which means they occasion great Mischiefs and Disquiets to their Subjects.

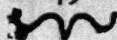
A. D.

1495.

Excellent  
Advice for  
Princes, to  
prevent  
their being  
impos'd on.

A. D.

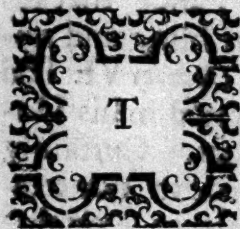
1496.



## C H A P. XIV.

*Of the King's receiving the News of the Loss of the Castle of Naples; the selling of the Towns belonging to the Florence to several Persons; the Treaty of Atella in Apuglia, much to the Prejudice of the French; and the Death of Ferrand King of Naples.*

*Misfortunes seldom come alone.*



THE Death of the Dauphin (only Son to Charles VIII.) happen'd about the Beginning of the Year 1496. and was the greatest Loss that happen'd, or could possibly happen to the King; for he had never any Child afterwards that liv'd. But this Misfortune came not alone; at the same time he receiv'd Advice, that the Castle of Naples was surrender'd by those whom the Lord de Montpensier had left in it, being forc'd to it by Famine, and for the Safety of their Hostages, who were deliver'd into the Enemy's Hands by the Lord de Montpensier. The Hostages Names were Monsieur d'Alegre one of the Sons of de la Marche d'Ardaine, one call'd de la Capelle a Londennois, and John Roquebertin a Catalonian. Those who were in the Castle were sent back again by Sea. After this another Accident besel him, and that was, one Entragues, who was Governor of the Cittadel of Pisa (which was strong, and commanded the whole Town) deliver'd it up to the Pisans, which was contrary to the King's Oath; for he had sworn twice to the Florentines to deliver the said Citadel to them, and other



other Places, as *Sarzana*, *Sarzanella*, *Pietra Sancta*, *A. D.*  
*Librefacto*, and *Motron*, which the *Florentines* 1496.  
 had lent the King in his Necessities, at his first  
 coming into *Italy*, and had given him sixscore  
 thousand Ducats, of which there were not a-  
 bove thirty thousand in Arrear, when he re-  
 turn'd into *France*, as has been mention'd in a-  
 nother Place. In short, all these Places were  
 sold; the *Genoese* bought *Sarzana* and *Sarzanella*,  
 and they were sold by the Bastard of *St. Paul*.  
*Monfieur Entragues* sold *Pietra Sancta* to the Citi-  
 zens of *Lucca*, and *Librefacto* to the *Venetians*, to  
 the great Dishonour of the King and his Subjects,  
 and to the Detriment (and I may say Loss) of  
 the Kingdom of *Naples*. The first Oath King  
*Charles VIII.* took for the Restitution of those  
 Places, was at *Florence*, upon the High Altar in  
 the Great Church of *St. John*. The second was  
 at *Asti* in his Return, where they furnish'd him  
 in his Extremity with 30000 Ducats more, up-  
 on condition that if *Pisa* was surrender'd to 'em,  
 the King should be discharg'd of the said Sum;  
 all his Jewels and Pawns were to be restor'd,  
 and they were to lend him threescore thousand  
 more, to be paid down in the Kingdom of *Na-  
 ples*, to those whom his Majesty had appointed  
 to manage his Affairs there, and to maintain at  
 their Charge three hundred Horse for the Ser-  
 vice of our King, in the Kingdom of *Naples*,  
 which were to continue there during the whole  
 Expedition; but upon the selling of *Pisa* and  
 the rest of the Towns, all was quash'd, and the  
 King oblig'd to repay the thirty thousand Ducats  
 which the *Florentines* had lent him; and all this  
 by the Disobedience and Whisperings of some  
 Persons about the King, who had given private  
 Encouragement to *Entragues* in the Business.

About

A. D. 1496. About the same time, and in the Beginning of the Year 1496. the Lord *de Montpensier*, the Lord *Virgil Orsini*, Signior *Camillo Vitelli*, and the rest of the *French* Officers, seeing all lost, took the Field, and made themselves Masters of several small Towns; upon which King *Ferrand* the Son of *Alphonso* (who was turn'd Monk, as you have heard before) with the Marquis of *Mantua*, Brother to the Lord *Montpensier's* Lady, and Captain-General of the *Venetians*, drew out against them, and found the Lord *de Montpensier* in a Town call'd *Atella*, situated upon a Hill, and very commodious for the supplying it with Provisions. The Enemy immediately encamp'd, and fortify'd themselves as strongly as they could, as not daring to venture a Battle; for King *Ferrand* and the Marquis of *Mantua* had been beaten in every Engagement they fought. The *Venetians* had sent the Marquis to King *Ferrand's* Assistance, and with him a Sum of Money; but inconsiderable for the Places which they receiv'd as Security; for the (a) six Towns in *Apulia* are of very great Importance, viz. *Brindisi*, *Trani*, *Gallipoli*, *Crana*, *Otranto*, and *Monopoli*; all which they had taken from us. And they valu'd the Service of their Forces in that Kingdom so high, that it was computed and charg'd

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(a) This Passage was mightily corrupted in the Original, and instead of six Places there were but five, of which *Trani* was nam'd twice, and *Crana* for the last, which is a Town near *Trani*, according to the Map of *Italy*. *Paulus Jovius* put *Polignano* and *Mola*, for *Crana* and *Gallipoli*; but the *Italian* Translator forgets the first of these two, and for *Mola* and *Polignano*, puts only *Sypontus*, which he turns into *Manfredonia*. In short, 'tis doubtful whom we ought to follow in the Translation of this Place.

upon the said Towns at two hundred thousand A. D. Ducats, besides what they demanded for the 1496. Fortifications and other Expences in the keeping them; so that I am persuaded they never had any Intentions (b) to restore them; for it is not their Custom to part with any thing that is for their Convenience, as those Towns were, lying all upon the Gulf of *Venice*, and making them absolute Lords of it, from *Venice* to *Otranto*, which is nine hundred Miles compleat. The Pope indeed has some few other Towns between them; but they pay Duties to the *Venetians*, or there is no passing for them through the Gulf; so that it was a great Advantage to them to have those Towns in their Hands, and perhaps more than many People do imagine; for they receive from them great Quantities of Corn and Oil, which are two Commodities very beneficial and necessary for them.

At the Town of *Atella* above-mention'd, our Troops began to mutiny, not only for Provisions (which were but beginning to fail) but for their Pay; for there was already an Arrear due to them for above 18 Months, and they had suffered very great Hardships. The *Swiss* too were largely behind, but not altogether so much; for all the Money the Lord *de Montpensier* could raise in that Kingdom, went to the Payment of those Forces; and yet they had above a Year due to them. They had plunder'd several little Villages, and got a considerable Booty. If the forty thousand Ducats which were promis'd, had been sent in time, or had they known they should have

The French that were left in the Kingdom of Naples mutiny.

(b) The *Venetians* lost their Towns afterwards by their Defeat at *Agnadella* on the 18th of May, 1509.



A. D. receiv'd it at *Florence*, this Mutiny had never  
 1496. happen'd; but now all that was transacted, pro-  
 ceeded meerly from Despair. Several of the  
 Commanders have told me since, that if our  
 Men had been unanimous, and would have a-  
 greed to have ventur'd a Battle, in all likelihood  
 the Victory would have been theirs; or if they  
 had lost it, it could not have been with the De-  
 struction of so many as they lost by their base  
 and dishonourable Surrender. The Lords *de*  
*Montpensier* and *Virgil Ursini* would willingly have  
 fought, and they dy'd in Prison, not one of their  
 Articles being observ'd to them. These two  
 Gentlemen accus'd the Lord *de Percy* (a Gentle-  
 man of *Auvergne*) to have been the Occasion of  
 their not Fighting; and the truth is, the Lord  
*Percy* was an ill-natur'd and mutinous Person.

There were two sorts of *Germans* in that Ar-  
 my, one was the *Swiss*, of which we had about  
 fifteen hundred, who had been with us from the  
 first beginning of our Expedition, and they  
 serv'd faithfully, and as well as Men could do,  
 to the very last. There was another commonly  
 call'd *Lansquenets*, which is as much as to say,  
*Companions of the Country*; and these have a natu-  
 ral Antipathy to the *Swiss*: They are a Col-  
 lection of all the Countries upon the *Rhine*, out  
 of *Swabia*, the *Pais de Vaux* in (c) *Semonia*, and  
*Gelderland*, and consisted of about seven or eight  
 hundred Men lately sent thither with two  
 Months Advance, which was spent before they

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(c) In one of the *French* Copies 'tis *Sionnie*, which is the  
 Country call'd in *Latin* *Valesia Sedusiorum*, of which *Sedu-*  
*num*, in *French* *Sion*, is the chief Town; or else it should  
 be *Vaux* in *Savoy*, which our Author mentions Book V.  
 Chap. I.

could be assembl'd. Seeing themselves in such A. D. Danger and Distress, they retain'd not that Affection to us as the *Swiss* did, but began to hold Intelligence, and by degrees revolted to the Enemy; upon which, and the Division among our Commanders, the Soldiers made a dishonourable Agreement, which King *Ferrand* swore to observe; for the Marquis of *Mantua* took great care to secure the Person of the Lord *de Montpensier* his Brother-in-law.

A. D. 1496.  
The French  
surrender  
themselves  
to Fer-  
rand King  
of Naples,  
upon disho-  
nourable  
Terms.

By the said Agreement they deliver'd themselves up into the hands of their Enemies, gave them all the Artillery which belong'd to our King, and promis'd to restore all the Places which our King was possess'd of in that Kingdom, as well in *Calabria*, where the Lord *d' Aubigny* commanded, as in *Abruzzo*, where the Lord *Gracian des Guerres*; besides *Cajeta* and *Tarento*. Upon which Terms King *Ferrand* was oblig'd to send 'em into *Provence* by Sea, and their Baggage with them, which was worth little or nothing. They were about five or six thousand Men, and King *Ferrand* caus'd them to be conducted to *Naples*. So ignominious an Agreement had not been made in our Times, nor did I ever read of any like it, unless it was that which (as *Titus Livius* reports) was made by the two Roman Consuls with the *Samnites* (which are now suppos'd to be the Inhabitants of *Beneventum*) at a certain Place upon the Mountains, which was then call'd *Furca Caudina*; but the Romans refus'd to ratify and confirm it, and sent the two Consuls back Prisoners to the Enemy.

If our Army had engag'd and been defeated, we had not lost so great a Number of Men as we did; for two Parts in three dy'd of the Famine, and Plague on Ship-board, and in the Isle

A. D. of *Procita*, whither they were sent afterwards  
 1496. by King *Ferrand*; among the rest, the Lord *de*  
*Montpensier* died there, some say of Poison, o-  
 thers of a Fever, (which I rather believe) and  
 I believe of their whole Number there came not  
 above fifteen hundred back; for of the *Swiss*,  
 which were thirteen hundred, there return'd  
 not above three hundred and fifty, and those in  
 a weak and miserable Condition. These *Swiss*

*The Death*  
*of Gilbert*  
*Count de*  
*Montpen-*  
*sier Vice-*  
*roy of Na-*  
*ples.*

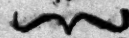
*The Loyalty*  
*of the*  
*Swiss.*

were highly to be commended; for they would  
 never bear Arms under King *Ferrand*, but chose  
 rather to die, as many of them did in the Island  
 of *Procita*, some of a Calenture, some of other  
 Diseases, and some of very Hunger; for it is  
 not to be imagin'd in what want of Victuals  
 they were kept on Ship-board, and how long.  
 I had a View of those which return'd, and par-  
 ticularly of the *Swiss*, who brought back all  
 their Colours; but by their Looks one might  
 see what they had suffer'd; for all of them were  
 so very sick, that when they came ashore to  
 take a little Air, they could not walk without  
 being lead. The Lord *Virgil Ursini* by his Ar-  
 ticles was to have had the Liberty to go into his  
 own Country with his Son, and his whole Re-  
 giment; but they detain'd him, and his lawful  
 Son with him (of which sort he had but one;)  
 yet he had another which was a Brave Man, call'd  
 Signior *Carlo*; but he was a Bastard, and was  
 kill'd by certain *Italians* which were in his com-  
 pany upon the Road. Had this Misfortune fal-  
 len upon any but those who had a Hand in the  
 Treaty, it had been a very deplorable Accident.

*An ince-*  
*stuous*  
*Marriage.*

Not long after King *Ferrand* had gain'd this  
 Honour, and newly marry'd the Daughter of  
 his Grand-father old King *Ferrand*, which he  
 had by the present King of *Castile's* Sister, (so  
 that



that his Queen was Sister to his own Father A. D. King *Alphonso*) and a young Lady not above 1496. thirteen or fourteen Years old; he fell into a  Heſtick Fever, and dy'd in 'a few Days, leaving <sup>The Death</sup> the Poſſeſſion of that Kingdom to King *Frede-* of Fer-  
*rick* (now reigning) who was his Uncle. I <sup>rand King</sup> cannot think of this Marriage without Horror, of Naples  
tho' there were ſeveral of the ſame nature in that Family within the Memory of Man, and that within the ſpace of thirty Years. King *Ferrand* when he was living, and *Frederick* ſince his Acceſſion to the Throne, excuſ'd themſelves, becauſe as they pretended the Lord *de Montpenſier* had not ſurrender'd the Towns that were mention'd in the Articles of Agreement; neither was it in his Power, for *Cajeta* and other Places were not in his Hands; and indeed tho' he was our King's Lieutenant in that Kingdom, yet the Governors of the reſpective Towns were not bound to deliver them at his Command, tho' if they had, our King had been no great Loſer by the Bargain; for they coſt a great deal to repair and victual them afterwards, and yet loſt them at laſt. I was preſent my ſelf when Proviſions <sup>The Ex-</sup> were ſent, once to the Caſtles of *Naples*, and <sup>pence of</sup> thrice to *Cajeta*; and I think I ſhould not miſtake <sup>the Expe-</sup> if I ſaid thoſe four Voyages coſt the King above <sup>dition into</sup> three hundred thouſand *Franks*; and yet all <sup>Naples.</sup> came to nothing. King *Ferrand* dy'd not long after that infamous Treaty of *Atella* in the Year 1496.

A. D.

1496.

## C H A P. XV.

*Of several Plots that were form'd (in favour of our King) by some of the Italian Princes, not only for the Recovery of Naples, but for the Destruction of the Duke of Milan; of their miscarrying for want of Supplies; and of another Design against Genoa, which came to the same ill End.*

**T**HE King, after his Return from his Expedition to *Naples*, as we have already mention'd, continu'd a long time at *Lions*, entertaining himself with Jufts and Tournaments; and yet desirous to regain the Places in the Kingdom of *Naples*, whatever it cost him, but would take no pains to manage his own Affairs, or to preserve them when they were in his Possession. He had very good Intelligence in *Italy*, and great Designs were set on foot in his favour; which tho' in themselves dangerous and chargeable, yet could easily be manag'd by the Kingdom of *France*, which is very populous, and plentiful in Corn, especially *Languedoc* and *Provence*, and other Countries, out of which 'tis no difficult Task to raise Money. But if any other Prince besides the King of *France* should embrace the Practices of the *Italians*, and undertake their Assistance, it would impoverish and exhaust him; for they do nothing without Money, nor indeed are they able, unless it be the Duke of *Milan*, or some of the great States. But a private Governor or General, how well affected soever he may be to the

the House of *France*, its Pretensions to the Kingdom of *Naples*, or the Dutchy of *Milan*, let him be as partial as he will to its Interest, yet he cannot serve that House long after the Pay begins to fail ; for the poor General would be deserted by his own Soldiers, and himself utterly undone, because for the most part they have nothing wherewith to raise Men, but their Reputation and Credit ; and the Soldiers are paid by the General, and the General by him who employs him in his Service : Nor do the *Italians* desire any thing more than to declare themselves of a Party. But as to the Designs which I have mention'd, they were so considerable, that they began before the Surrender of *Cajeta*, upon the Duke of *Milan's* not keeping his Promise, and continu'd for two Years after our King's Return. As for the Duke of *Milan*, he did not break his Promise so much out of Malice and Ill-nature, as through Fear ; for he was jealous the King could not have so great an Addition of Power, but by the Diminution of his own ; besides, he did not think our King a Prince of any Firmness or Resolution. At length it was concluded that the Duke of *Orleans* should march to *Asti* with a considerable Body of Forces ; and I saw him and his Equipage ready to set out. We were secure of the Duke of *Ferrara* with five hundred Men at Arms and two thousand Foot (tho' he was the Duke of *Milan's* Father-in-law ;) for he join'd with us to preserve himself against the Danger he was in between the Duke and the *Venetians*, who not long since (as I said before) had taken from him the *Polesan*, and endeavour'd all they could to ruin him : Upon which account he preferr'd his own and his Childrens Safety before the Friendship of his Son-in-law ;

A. D.

1496.

~



A. D. 1496. law ; and perhaps he was of opinion that his Son-in-law would come to some Agreement with the King, when he found himself in danger. Besides, by the Interest of the Duke of *Ferrara*, we had also engag'd the Marquis of *Mantua* to our Party, who had been, and was at that time General for the *Venetians* ; but they were so jealous of him, and he so dissatisfy'd with them, that he quarter'd with 300 Men at Arms with his Father-in-law the Duke of *Ferrara*, tho' his Lady was Sister to the Dutcheß of *Milan*, the Duke of *Ferrara's* Daughter. Signior *John Bentivoglio* (who was Governor, and as it were Prince of *Bologna*) was to have provided 150 Men at Arms, besides the Horse and Foot which his two Sons were to have brought with them, and his Country was well seated to invade the Duke of *Milan*. The *Florentines*, who saw they were utterly undone, and were afraid they should be disposseß'd of *Pisa* and the rest of their Towns, unless they exerted themselves, and did something extraordinary in this critical Juncture of Affairs, agreed to assist us with eight hundred Men at Arms and two thousand Foot, and to maintain them at their own Expence ; and they had six Months Pay ready in Bank. The *Ursini* and the Governor of *Rome*, who was Brother to the Cardinal of *St. Peter ad Vincula* (so often mention'd before) being both in the King's Pay, would have brought a thousand Men at Arms ; but you must know the Retinue and Equipage of their Men at Arms is not after the manner of ours ; for they have no Archers, but their Pay is alike ; for the Pay of a Man at Arms (and he is well paid) is a hundred Ducats a Year, but with Archers it is double. These Soldiers the King would have paid, but the  
*Floren-*

*Florentines* were to have paid their own Forces. A. D. The Duke of *Ferrara*, the Marquis of *Mantua*, 1496. and *Bentivoglio* desir'd only their Charges; for they design'd their Reward out of the Towns which they should take from the Duke of *Milan*; and certainly had he been suddenly invaded by the Duke of *Orleans's* Forces, and those who were enter'd into the Alliance against him, the *Venetians*, who were his Confederates, could not have been in a condition to have assisted him, under fourscore thousand Crowns Expence before he would have been constrain'd to have submitted to the King, (who would have been able to have kept all the *Italians* together a long time) and if the Duke of *Milan* had been conquer'd, the Kingdom of *Naples* would have fallen of course.

The Miscarriage of this important Design The Duke proceeded meerly from the Duke of *Orleans's* of *Orleans* Inconstancy: He had Orders over Night to set the Occa- out in the Morning; he had sent all his Equi- sion of the page, Baggage, and whatever else belong'd to Miscar- his Person, before; so that there was nothing riage of the Design to follow but himself. His Army, consisting of that was eight hundred *French* Men at Arms and six thou- form'd by sand Foot (among which he had four hundred the Prin- *Swiss*) lay ready at *Asti*, and their advanc'd ces of Ita- ly. Money in their Pockets; yet on a sudden he chang'd his Mind, and made two several Ad- dresses to the King, that that Expedition might be once more debated before the Council; and it was done twice. I was present both times; the Result was, *nemine contradicente* (tho' there was always ten or twelve in Council) that he should proceed in this Expedition, because they had given all their above-mention'd Friends in *Italy* repeated Assurances of his coming; and

A. D. 1496. they had rais'd Men, and been at great Charge in expectation of him. But the Duke of Orleans, who was also present at the Debate (either by the Advice of some other Person, or through his own Unwillingness to go, on account of his Brother's Illness, and his being the next Heir to the Crown) plainly told them he would not undertake that Enterprize upon any Quarrel of his own ; but as he was the King's Lieutenant, if his Majesty pleas'd to command it, he would go with all his Heart ; and so the Council broke up. The next Day, and several after, the *Flarentine*, and the rest of the Ambassadors, press'd the King, that he would lay his Commands upon him ; but the King's Answer was, that he would never send him to make War against his Inclinations. And thus was that Enterprize quash'd in a moment, to the King's great Displeasure, who had been at vast Charges, and had great hopes of revenging himself on the Duke of *Milan*, considering his own Intelligence at that time, and what he might have had by Signior *John James di Trivulce*, who was Lieutenant-General for the King ; and the Duke of *Orleans* was born, and had great Interest and Alliance in the Dutchy of *Milan*.

Another  
Design in  
Italy in  
favour of  
Charles  
VIII.

But tho' this Design miscarry'd, another reviv'd, nay two or three at a time, in *Genoa*, which is a Place very subject to Revolutions. One was contriv'd by Signior *Baptista di Campoforgoso*, a Great Man in the Faction of *Genoa* ; but he was banish'd, and his Party could do nothing, nor the Family of the *Dorei* neither, who were Gentlemen, but the *Campoforgosi* were not. The *Dorei* are of the same Party with the *Campoforgosi*, but cannot be Dukes themselves, because they are Gentlemen ; for no Gentleman is capable by their



their Laws. But this (d) *Baptista* had been Duke A. D. not long before, but was supplanted by his Uncle 1496. the Cardinal of *Genoa*, who put the Government into the Hands of the Duke of *Milan*, under whom the City was govern'd by the *Adorni*, who were also no Gentlemen; yet they have been often Dukes, and were supported by the House of the *Spinoli*, who were Gentlemen too. The Nobility in *Genoa* make Dukes, but cannot be made so themselves. This Signior *Baptista* expected his whole Party (both in the City and abroad) would have taken Arms in his favour; and that the Senate should be chosen by the King, but the Government would fall into the Hands of him and his Party; and they did not question but to deal well enough with the rest. The other Design was set on foot by several Persons in *Savona*, who had address'd themselves to the Cardinal of *St. Peter ad Vincula*, assuring him they would deliver up the Town, provided their Liberties and Privileges might be secur'd to 'em; for it was then under the Jurisdiction of *Genoa*, and paid Duties as the rest. If he could have made himself Master of this Town, he would have reduc'd *Genoa* to great Streights, considering *Provence* was our King's own Country, and *Savoy* at his Command. Upon these Intelligences the King sent to Signior *John James di Trivulce* to assist the said *Baptista*

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(d) *Baptista Fregosa*, who is here nam'd *Campoforgoso*, inveighs bitterly against this Cardinal of *Genoa* his Uncle, in a Book which he made concerning his memorable Actions; and in which he accuses him of Treason, for having depos'd him with a Design to make his natural Son Doge of *Genoa*, of whom mention is made in the 7th Book, Chap. 5.

A. D. *di Campoforgoso* with such Supplies as might carry him to the very Walls of *Genoa*, to see whether his Party would appear. On the other side he was press'd hard by the Cardinal of *St. Peter ad Vincula*, who had obtain'd a Letter to him from the King, commanding the said *James* to furnish the Cardinal with Men enough to conduct him to *Savona*; and he gave the same Message by Word of Mouth to the Lord of *Servon* in *Provence*, who was the Cardinal's Friend, and would deliver it boldly. The King also sent Orders to Signior *James di Trivulce*, to contrive Matters so, as he might support both Parties, and yet act nothing against the Duke of *Milan*, or contrary to the Peace that was made with him the Year before; but these Orders were downright Contradictions. And after this manner the Affairs of Great Princes are manag'd, when they are not curious themselves, or otherwise are too hasty in commanding Letters and Messengers to be dispatch'd without mature and requisite Deliberation. In this case, if one considers what was requir'd by Signior *Baptista di Campoforgoso* and the Cardinal, we shall find that it was impossible to supply them both at a time. For to approach the Walls of *Genoa* without a considerable Body of Forces, was ridiculous and impracticable, not only by reason of the Numbers, but of the Courage of the Inhabitants; and to have supply'd the Cardinal had been to have divided his own Army into three Bodies, for Part must of necessity have remain'd with Signior *John James*; and besides the Alarm was taken, and the Duke of *Milan*, the *Venetians*, *Don Frederick* and the Pope, had all of them sent Forces to *Genoa* and *Savona*, as suspecting their Revolt.

Besides

Besides these two, Signior *John James di Trivulce* had a third Design of his own, and that was, to have march'd directly with all his Forces against the Duke of *Milan*, and laid those Enterprizes aside; and certainly if he had been permitted to have pursu'd his own Scheme, he would have perform'd some great Action; for under pretence that he could not otherwise protect such as were engag'd in the Designs upon *Genoa* and *Savona*, he posted himself upon the great Road from *Alexandria* to *Genoa* (and indeed the Duke of *Milan* could send Forces no other way to molest us) and possess'd himself of two or three small Towns without any Resistance; pretending that this was no Violation of the Peace with the Duke, for he was forc'd to it of necessity; and that the King could not be said to have made War upon the Duke for endeavouring to recover *Genoa* and *Savona*, because they held of the King, and had forfeited their Allegiance. However to satisfy the Cardinal, Signior *John James di Trivulce* sent part of his Army to *Savona*; but he found the Garrison reinforced, and his Designs defeated, and so he march'd back. He sent other Troops to Signior *Baptista*, to attempt something upon *Genoa*, and great Matters were expected from thence; but before they had march'd four Leagues, both *French* and *Swiss* grew jealous of him (tho' I think it was wrongfully) and it was well things happen'd so; for their Number being very inconsiderable, they would have expos'd themselves to great Danger, if their Party in the Town had not appear'd. Thus all their Enterprizes and Designs miscarried, and the Duke of *Milan* was become strong, who had run a great deal of Danger, if Signior *John James* had not been countermanded.

A. D.

1496.

A third  
Design in  
Italy in  
favour of  
Charles  
VIII.

Our

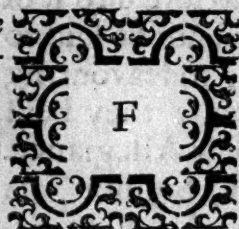


A. D. 1496. Our Army march'd back, our Foot were disbanded, our small Towns restor'd, and the War was concluded, but with little advantage to the King, considering what Expence he had been at in Military Preparations.

## C H A P. XVI.

*Of certain Differences that arose between Charles King of France, and Ferrand King of Castile; and the Ambassadors which were sent to both of them to accommodate the Affair.*

*The supine and negligent way of living of Charles VIII.*



FROM the Beginning of 1496. (the King having been four Months on this Side the Mountains) till the Year 1498. our Forces lay still, and did nothing in *Italy*: I was present all that while with his Majesty, and privy to most of his Affairs. He went from *Lions* to *Moulins*, and from *Moulins* to *Tours*, spending his Time in nothing but Jufts and Tournaments wherever he came, without ever thinking of his Affairs in *Italy* or *France*. Those who were in greatest Reputation with him, were in great Dissention among themselves, and it could hardly be greater. Some (as the Cardinal and Seneschal) were for carrying on the War in *Italy*, because it was for their Profit and Advantage; the (a) Admiral on the other side (who before

(a) The Lord de Graville mention'd before, pag. 689. that

that Expedition had been the King's greatest Favourite) oppos'd it in hopes to be restor'd to his former Authority, and to supplant his Competitors; and in this Posture things stood about a Year and a half.

A. D.

1496.

In the mean time our King sent Ambassadors to the King and Queen of *Castile*, for his Majesty desir'd to be at Peace with them, because they were very powerful both at Sea and Land; and tho' at Land they had done no extraordinary matter, yet by Sea they had given King *Ferrand* and *Frederick* both very considerable Assistance; for the Island of *Sicily* is distant from *Rhegio* in *Calabria* but a League and a half. (a) Some are of opinion it was formerly join'd to the Continent, and in process of time separated from it by the Sea. It is now call'd the *Streights of Messina*. From this Island of *Sicily*, which belong'd to the King and Queen of *Castile*, considerable Supplies were sent to *Naples*, as well in *Caravels* from *Spain*, as in Men from the Island, out of which several Men at Arms pass'd the

(a) *Virgil* was also of this Opinion, as appears by the following Verses:

*At, ubi digressum Sicula te admoverit ora  
Ventus, & angusti rarefcent lustra pelori,  
Lava tibi tellus, & longo lava petantur  
Æquora circuitu : dextrum fuge litus & undas.  
Hæc loca, vi quondam & vastâ convulsa ruinâ  
(Tantum ævi longinqua valet mutare vetustas)  
Disfluisset ferunt : cum prætinus utraque tellus  
Una foret, venit medio vi pontus, & undis  
Hesperium Siculo latus abscidit : arvaque & urbes  
Littore diductas, angusto interluit æstu.*

*Virg. Æneid. III. V. 410, &c.*

Sea

A. D. Sea into *Calabria*, with a good Number of Spanish *Genets*, where they made War against those who appear'd for our King. Their Fleet was continually join'd with the Confederates, and when they were united, the King was too weak for them at Sea; otherwise the King of *Castile* had not done him much Mischief. 'Tis true a good Body of his Horse made an Inroad into *Languedoc*, plunder'd some few Towns, and quarter'd up and down for three or four Days; but that was all, and no considerable Damage done. (b) *Monfieur de St. Andrè* (a *Bourbonnois*) being then upon the Frontier with some Troops belonging to the Duke of *Bourbon*, who was Governor of *Languedoc*, attempted to take *Sausses*, a small Town in *Roussillon*, from whence the Enemy made all his Excursions about two Years before; for the King had restor'd the said *Roussillon* to them, in which Province there is the Territory of *Perpignan*, and this *Sausses* in the Middle of it. The Design was great, because the Town was strongly garrison'd with a Detachment of the King of *Castile's* Guards, and within a League lay their whole Army more numerous than ours, and ready to engage us. However *Monfieur de St. Andrè* manag'd his Affairs so prudently, and with so much Secrecy, that in Ten Hours time he took the Town (which I have seen) by Assault, and in it there were thirty or forty Spanish Gentlemen of good Quality slain, and among them the Arch-Bishop of *St. James's* Son, besides three or four hundred

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(b) *John d'Albon*, Son of *Giles* Lord of *St. Andrè* and *Anne de Semur*, and Father of *James d'Albon* Marquis of *Fronsac*, Lord of *St. Andre*, and Marshal of France.



more. They did not suppose we should have been Masters of it so soon, because they knew not the Goodness of our Cannon, which certainly are the finest and the best in *Europe*.

No other Action but this happen'd between these two Kings, which was much to the Dishonour of the King of *Castile*, who had such a numerous Army in the Field. But when God Almighty is pleas'd to chastise a Nation for their Sins, he begins with smaller and more supportable Afflictions; for the King and Queen of *Castile* were visited afterwards with great Mortifications, and so were we too. The King and Queen of *Castile* acted very imprudently, and were ill advis'd to forswear themselves to our Master, especially after he had been so kind as to restore *Roussillon*, which had cost his Father so much to fortify and defend, and had been mortgag'd to him for three hundred thousand Crowns, all which were remitted to hinder him from disturbing our King in his intended Conquest of *Naples*. Besides which, they renew'd the ancient Alliances with not only King and King, Kingdom and Kingdom, but the individual Subjects on both Sides were mutually oblig'd; and they promis'd not to interrupt us in our Conquest, nor to marry any of their Daughters either with the Houses of *Naples*, *England*, or *Flanders*; which Offer came first from themselves, and was made by one Friar *John de Mauleon* on the part of the Queen of *Castile*. Yet as soon as they saw the War begun, and the King at *Rome*, they sent their Ambassadors to all the neighbouring Princes to make an Alliance against our King; and particularly to *Venice*, where I was resident at that time; and there the League (which I have spoken of so much) was made

A. D.

1496.

A. D. made between the *Pope*, the King of the *Romans*, 1496. the State of *Venice*, and the Duke of *Milan*, and immediately they began to act offensively against our King, and to declare that their former Obligation became void, and they were no longer bound to observe it, especially that Article about the Marriage of their Daughters, (of which they had four, and but one Son) tho' they first made that Offer of themselves, as you have already heard.

*Negotiations in Spain generally manag'd by Priests.*

But to proceed in my History. After the Wars in *Italy* were over, and the King had nothing left in the Kingdom of *Naples* but *Cajeta*, which he lost afterwards; after the Pretensions in *Roussillon* were adjusted, and every Prince was in possession of what was his own, they sent a Gentleman to King *Charles*, and with him certain Monks of *Montferrat*; it being the Custom of *Spain* to manage all their Negotiations by such People, either out of Hypocrisy and Pretence of Religion, or the Frugality of their Expence; for, as I said before, the Treaty about *Roussillon* was manag'd by Friar *John de Mauleon*. These Ambassadors at their first Audience besought the King, that he would forget the Injury that was done him by the King and Queen of *Castile* (the King and Queen are always mention'd together, because *Castile* came by her, and she had there the principal Authority, it having been a Marriage of more than ordinary Honour for them.) Then they began to propose a Truce, in which their whole League was to be comprehended, and our King to keep *Cajeta* in his possession, and what other Places were then in his Hands in the Kingdom of *Naples*; that during the Truce his Majesty might erect what Magazines in them he pleas'd, and that

*Sham Proposals for a general Peace only to amuse and deceive Charles VIII.*

that a Time and Place should be appointed, to which Ambassadors from all the Parties of the League (or as many as desir'd it) should be sent to conclude a final Peace ; after which the King and Queen of *Spain* intended to pursue the Conquest of *Granada*, and having finish'd that, to pass over into *Africa* against the King of *Fez*, whose Kingdom reaches to the Coasts on the other Side of that Sea. However some will say they never design'd it, but were resolv'd to sit down with the Conquest of the Kingdom of *Granada*, which indeed was a glorious Action, and the fairest Acquisition which had been gain'd not only in our Times, but by all their Predecessors ; and I wish for their own sakes they had rested there, and kept their Promise with our King. With these Ambassadors of theirs our King sent back the Lord of *Clerieux* in *Dauphinè*, and endeavour'd to conclude either a separate Peace or a Truce with them, without comprehending any of the rest of the Confederates ; but if the King had accepted their Overture, he had preserv'd *Cajeta*, which might have been sufficient for the Recovery of the whole Kingdom, considering what Friends his Majesty had in it. When the Lord *de Clerieux* return'd, he brought new Propositions, for *Cajeta* was lost before he got to *Castile*. The Proposition was, that the antient Alliance between the two Crowns should be renew'd ; and that by common Consent and Expence they should endeavour the Conquest of *Italy*, and that both the Kings should be personally present in that Expedition ; but first they insisted that a General Truce might be concluded, the whole League be comprehended, and a Day and Place appointed



A. D. 1496. pointed in *Piedmont*, to which each of them might send their Ambassadors, being desirous (as they pretended) to acquit themselves honourably towards their Confederates. But all this Overture in my Opinion, (and I have understood as much since) was but an Artifice to gain Time, and suffer King *Ferrand* to breath a little, and recruit whilst he liv'd, and King *Frederick* since his Decease. However they could have been contented to have had that Kingdom to themselves, and their Title was better than theirs who possess'd it; but the King's Title (which was the House of *Anjou's*) was better than both of them: Yet considering the Nature of the Country, and the People which inhabit it, I think he has best Right to it that can keep Possession of it, so strangely are they inclin'd to Revolutions. After this the King sent *Clerieux* back again into *Spain*, and with him one Monsieur *Michael de Gramont*, with certain new Proposals. This Lord *de Clerieux* had some little Affection for the House of *Arragon*, and hop'd to have the Marquisate of *Cotrona* in *Calabria*, which the King of *Spain* retain'd of the last Conquest which he made in that Province. *Clerieux* pretended it was his; for he is an honest sincere Man, but something too credulous, especially of such Persons. The second time he return'd, he brought back with him another Ambassador from them, and the Lord *de Clerieux* reported that the King and Queen of *Castile* would be contented to take *Calabria* (which is the Part of *Italy* that lies next *Sicily*) for their whole Interest in that Kingdom, and that our King should have the rest: he offer'd likewise that the King of *Castile* should assist in Person in this intended Expedition, and contri-

The House  
of Anjou  
a better  
Right to  
the King-  
dom of  
Naples  
than that  
of Arra-  
gon.

contribute as much towards paying the Army A. D. as our King ; and indeed he was at that time 1496. Master of four or five fortified Towns in *Calabria*, and among the rest *Cotrone*, which is not only a strong, but a beautiful City. I was present when the Ambassador made his Report, and most were of opinion he was impos'd upon, and that it would be necessary to send another Ambassador of greater Cunning and Sagacity, to search more narrowly into the Affair. Upon which the Lord *du Bouchage* was join'd in the same Embassy. He was a Person of great Wisdom and Penetration in State-Affairs, had enjoy'd Places of great Trust and Honour in the late King's Reign, and was still highly valu'd and esteem'd by his Son. The Spanish Ambassador who came along with the Lord *de Clerieux* would never confirm what he had said ; only he told us that he did believe Monsieur *de Clerieux* would not have made that Report, if the King and Queen of *Castile* had not said it ; which gave us the more suspicion it was a Trick ; and besides, no body could believe the King of *Spain* would go thither in Person, or that he would, or indeed could bear an equal Share with our Master.

As soon as the Lord *du Bouchage*, Monsieur *de Clerieux*, *Michael de Gramont*, and the rest of our Ambassadors, were arriv'd at the Court of the King and Queen of *Castile*, they order'd them to be lodg'd in Apartments where none of their Subjects could converse with them, appointed Persons to have an Eye over them, and they were admitted to three private Audiences of the King and Queen. When the Lord *du Bouchage* had acquainted them with what the Lord

A. D. 1496. *de Clerieux* had reported to his Master, and *Michael de Gramont* had confirm'd it; they answer'd that they might have said some such thing by way of Discourse, but not otherwise; yet they would readily engage themselves in any Peace that should be for our Master's Honour and Advantage. The Lord *de Clerieux* was very uneasy, and much displeas'd at their Answer, (and he had reason) and justified to their Faces in the Presence of the Lord *du Bouchage*, that they had given it in Commission. However the Lord *du Bouchage* and the other Ambassadors concluded a Truce for two Months, without comprehending the League; but the Princes who married their Daughters, and their Fathers-in-law were comprehended, as the King of the *Romans*, and the King of *England* (for the Prince of *Wales* was but very young at that time.) The King and Queen of *Castile* had (a) four Daughters, the eldest was a Widow, and married to the King of *Portugal* who died last, having broke his Neck in her sight as he was passing a Career upon a *Genet* before her, three Months after their Marriage; and they

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(a) Their eldest Daughter, whose Name was *Isabella*, was married at first to *Alphonso* Prince of *Portugal*, Son of *John II.* King of *Portugal*, who broke his Neck, as our Author here mentions; and afterwards to *Emanuel* King of *Portugal*, but died in Child-bed. The second, whose Name was *Jane*, was married to *Philip* Duke of *Austria*, Son and Heir to *Maximilian* King of the *Romans*. *Catharine*, who was the third, was married to *Arthur* Prince of *Wales*, Son of *Henry VII.* King of *England*. And the fourth, whose Name was *Margaret*, and who according to our Author was unmarried at that time, was married to the same *Emanuel* King of *Portugal*, her eldest Sister's Husband.



had another unmarried. As soon as the Lord *Bouchage* was arriv'd, and had inform'd the King of his Reception at the *Spanish* Court, his Majesty was sensible he had acted wisely in sending him; for now he was assur'd of what he but suspected before, and that was of the Credulity of the Lord *de Clerieux*. The Lord *du Bouchage* told him moreover, that all he could obtain was that Truce, which however his Majesty had liberty either to accept or reject. The King confirm'd it, and sure he did wisely; for it broke that Confederacy which had given so much Disturbance to his Affairs, and which hitherto he could not effect, tho' he had try'd all Ways possible to dissolve it. The Lord *du Bouchage* also acquainted his Majesty that they would send Ambassadors after him with Power to conclude a Peace; and this the King and Queen of *Castile* assur'd him of, when he had his Audience of Leave. He told our King also, that at his coming away he left their only Son the Prince of *Castile* very dangerously ill.

A. D.

1496.

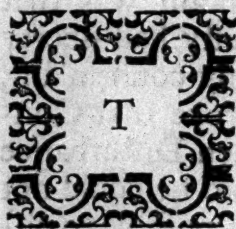
A Truce  
concluded  
between  
Charles  
VIII. and  
the King  
of Castile.

A. D.

1496.

## C H A P. XVII.

*A Digression concerning the Misfortunes  
which happen'd to the House of Castile  
in the Author's Time.*



*A general  
Mourning  
in Spain  
for the  
Death of  
the Prince  
of Castile.*

THE Lord *du Bouchage*, ten or twelve Days after his Return into *France*, receiv'd Letters from an Herald, which he had left behind to wait on the Ambassadors which were to come from thence. The Letters were to this purpose, that he should not wonder at their deferring the Embassy, because it was done upon the account of the Death of the Prince of *Castile* (as they call'd him) who was lately dead, to the unspeakable Grief of the King and Queen, but especially of the Queen, who was more like to die than to live; and certainly I never heard of so solemn and so universal a Mourning for any Prince in *Europe*. I have since been inform'd by Ambassadors, that all the Tradesmen put themselves into a coarse kind of Black, and shut up their Shops for forty Days together; the Nobility and Gentry cover'd their Mules with Black Cloth down to their very Knees, and all over their Body and Heads, so that there was nothing of them to be seen but their Ears; and set up black Banners upon all the Gates of the City. When the Lady *Margaret* (Daughter to the King of the (a) *Romans*,

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(a) *Maximilian I.* afterwards Emperor.

Sister to the (b) Arch-Duke of *Austria*, and Wife to the said Prince) was inform'd of the News of his Death, she miscarried of a Daughter (being six Months gone with Child) which was born dead. What a terrible Blow must this be, to a Family which had known nothing before but Felicity and Renown, and had a larger Territory (I mean by Succession) than any other Family in Christendom? and besides the late Acquisition of *Granada*, they had forced the greatest Monarch in *Europe* out of *Italy*, and defeated his Enterprize, which was look'd upon to be a mighty Action, even by the Pope himself, who under pretence of the Conquest of *Granada*, would have taken away the Title of *Most Christian* from the King of *France*, and conferr'd it on the King of *Castile*, to whom several Briefs were address'd with that Title superscrib'd: But because some of the Cardinals oppos'd it, he gave them another, which was, *The most Catholick*, by which Title he is call'd now, and I believe he will be stil'd so for ever at *Rome*. What a sad and surprising Turn must this Accident be? at a time when they had reduc'd their Kingdom to Obedience, regulated the Laws, settled the Administration of Justice, and were so well and happy in their own Persons, as if God and Man had conspir'd to advance their Power and Honour above all the rest of the Princes in *Europe*.

A. D.

1496,

*The Title of Most Catholick given to the King of Castile by Pope Alexander VI.*

Nor was this their only Affliction; their eldest Daughter (the dearest Thing to them in the World after the Death of her Brother) was forc'd

(b) Philip I. Arch-Duke of *Austria* and King of *Castile* in right of his Wife *Jane*, Daughter and Heiress of the King of *Castile*.



A. D. to leave them, having some few Days before 1496. been married, to *Emanuel* the young King of *Portugal*. He was then indeed but Prince of *Portugal*; but the Crown of *Portugal* fell to him by the Death of the last King of *Portugal*, who most barbarously caus'd the Head of his Father-in-law to be cut off, kill'd his Brother with his own Hand (who was elder Brother to the King that now reigns in *Portugal*) kept this present King in perpetual Fear, and kill'd his own Brother before his Wife's Face, as they were sitting at Dinner, to make way for one of his Bastards to be King. After which Cruelties he liv'd in continual Fear and Suspicion, and not long after, his only (Legitimate) Son broke his Neck off his Mule, as you have heard, who was the first Husband to the Lady of whom I am now speaking, and who is Queen of *Portugal* at present, into which Kingdom she has been twice marry'd, and by Report is one of the wisest and most Honourable Persons in the World. But to continue our Relation of the miserable Accidents which in a short space besel the King and Queen of *Castile*, who had liv'd in so much Glory and Felicity, to the Fiftieth Year of their Age, or more. You must know they had married their eldest Daughter to the King of *Portugal*, that all *Spain* might be in Peace; for they were entirely possess'd of all the Provinces, except the Kingdom of *Navarre*, which they govern'd as they pleas'd, and of which they had also four of the strongest Towns. Secondly to adjust and compose the Difference about her Dower and Marriage-Portion: And thirdly, for the Benefit and Advantage of some of the *Grande*s of *Portugal*, who were in the King of *Castile*'s Interest; for by this Match those Lords who were

*The Cruelty of John II. King of Portugal.*

were banish'd that Country upon the Death of A. D.  
the two Princes above-mention'd, and had their 1496.  
Estates confiscated (which continu'd to that  
Day, tho' the Crime of which they were ac-  
cus'd was only endeavouring to set this King up  
who now reigns) had Estates given them in *Ca-*  
*stile*; and their Lands in *Portugal*, which were  
forfeited by the Attainder, were assign'd to the  
Queen's Use. And yet for all these Considera-  
tions the King and Queen of *Castile* were ex-  
tremely troubled at this Match; for you must  
understand, there is no Nation in *Europe* that  
the *Spaniards* abhor and deride more than they *The natu-*  
do the *Portuguese*. So that it was no small Mor- *ral Anti-*  
tification to them, that they had married their *pathy be-*  
Daughter to a Person that was not pleasing to *tween the*  
the *Castilians*, and the rest of their Subjects, and *Spaniards*  
had it been to do again, it would never have *and the*  
been done; which must needs be a great Affli- *Portu-*  
ction to them, and the greater, because she must *guese.*  
leave them. But having master'd their Passion  
as well as they could, they conducted them  
through all the chief Cities in that Kingdom,  
caus'd the King of *Portugal* to be receiv'd as their  
Prince, his Queen as Princess, and declar'd  
them their Successors after their Decease. But  
to finish all, and consummate their Sorrows,  
this young Lady, whom they lov'd and valu'd  
so highly, died in Child-bed of a Son about a A. D.  
Month since, and it is now *October*, 1498. 1498.  
Tho' the Queen died, yet her Son liv'd, and is  
call'd (c) *Emanuel*; yet I am inform'd their Af-

(c) Other Authors say his Name was *Michael*; but he  
died young, and the Crown of *Spain* descended to *Jane*  
the second Daughter, who was Wife to *Philip* Duke of  
*Austria*, and Mother to *Charles V.*

A. D. fiction is so great, they would have given 1498. God Thanks to have taken them with their Daughter.

All these great Misfortunes happen'd in three Months space ; nor were we without our Share of Afflictions ; for before the Death of the above-mention'd Princess, we in this Kingdom were chastis'd and afflicted by the Death of *Charles VIII.* (of whom I have spoken so much) and who died after the manner as you shall hear hereafter ; as if God had been offended with both these Illustrious Families, and would not suffer the one to triumph over the other. No such Revolution happens in a Kingdom, but it is generally attended with very sad Consequences, and tho' possibly some may be Gainers, yet there will be a hundred Losers to one of them, besides the changing of a Man's whole Life and Conversation ; for that which pleases one King will hardly be agreeable to another. And (as I have said in another Place) he that reflects upon the sudden and severe Chastisements which God has inflicted upon the Great Princes of *Europe* within these thirty Years, shall find more and greater than in two hundred Years before, including *France, Castile, Portugal, England, the Kingdom of Naples, Flanders, and Bretagne* ; and if any should attempt to give a particular Account of all the Fates and Misfortunes which I have known (and perhaps most of the Persons on whom they fell) it would swell into a vast Volume, and astonish the whole World, tho' it contain'd no more than the Occurrences of ten Years past. By these Afflictions the Power of God ought to be acknowledg'd and remembred ; for the Troubles which he lays upon Princes are heavier, more grievous, and more lasting than those



those he lays upon inferior Persons. So that in short, (upon a full and just Consideration of all) the Lives of Princes are as much subject to Afflictions and Anxiety of Mind as other Mens, at least if they regard their own Affairs themselves, and endeavour to prevent such Miseries from falling upon them, as they see have ruin'd their neighbouring Princes. 'Tis true they punish their Subjects at their Pleasure, and God does the same by them ; for besides him there is none above them. But that Kingdom is most happy, whose King fears God, and manages his own Affairs.

A. D.

1498.

*The Author's  
wrong No-  
tion of  
Kings.*

Thus have you seen in few Words the Misfortunes which befell these two potent Kingdoms, and all within the space of three Months, which not long before were so incens'd one against the other, so busy to subvert one another, and so intent upon their Interest and Advancement, that nothing which they enjoy'd was sufficient to satisfy their boundless Ambition. I confess (as I said before) no Change happens in Government, but some People are the better for it ; yet when a Prince dies suddenly, the first News of his Death is terrible to all.

A. D.

1498.

## C H A P. XVIII.

*Of the magnificent Building which King Charles began not long before his Death: His good Inclination to reform the Church, the Laws, the Treasury, and himself; and of his dying suddenly in this Resolution in his Castle at Amboise.*

*The Re-  
building of  
the Castle  
of Am-  
boise, be-  
gun by  
Charles  
VIII. a  
little be-  
fore his  
Death.*



Have now done with the Affairs of *Italy* and *Spain*, and shall return to speak of our own Misfortunes in *France*, (at which some People might possibly rejoice, especially if they gain'd any thing by them) and give you an Account of the Death of *Charles VIII.* our King, who died suddenly at his Castle of *Amboise*, where he began the most August and magnificent Building that any Prince had undertaken for a hundred Years before, both in the Town and the Castle; and this appears by the remaining Towers, to the top of which one may ride on Horse-back. As to his Building in the Town, the Design was admirable, the Model lofty, and would have requir'd a great deal of Time. He had brought his Artificers (as his Carvers, Painters and such) from *Italy*, so that the whole Fabrick seem'd the Enterprize of a young Prince, who thought nothing of dying so soon; for he collected whatever was commended to him either in *France*, *Italy*, or *Flanders*: Besides this great Work his Mind was so bent upon another Expedition into *Italy*, being sensible he had committed many great Errors in his first; he spoke often

often of them, and resolv'd if ever he recover'd what he had lost in that Country, he would keep it better than he had done, and having a Party and Intelligence in all Places, he thought it not impossible but he might return and recover the Kingdom of *Naples*: To which Purpose he resolv'd to send thither a Body of fifteen hundred *Italian Men at Arms*, under the Command of the Marquis of *Mantua*, the *Ursini*, the *Vitelli*, and the Governor of *Rome*, Brother to the Cardinal of *Saint Peter ad Vincula*; the Lord d' *Aubigny*, who had done such Wonders in *Calabria*, was to march into the Territories of the *Florentines*, who were to bear half the Charges for six Months. His first Attempt was to have been upon *Pisa*, or the adjacent Towns, and then joining with the rest, to march in one Body into the Kingdom of *Naples*, from whence he was solicited continually. Pope *Alexander VI.* who now reigns, being offended with the *Venetians*, endeavour'd to come into the Alliance, and had private Intrigues with him by an Agent that lay *incognito*, whom I privately convey'd into the King's Chamber not long before his Death. The *Venetians* were ready to join with us against the Duke of *Milan*, and our Negotiations with *Spain* were as you have heard; the King of the *Romans* desir'd nothing so earnestly as the Friendship of our King, and that they two might manage their own Affairs in *Italy* by themselves: This King of the *Romans* was call'd *Maximilian*, a mortal Enemy to the *Venetians*, because they had taken and kept several Places belonging to the House of *Austria*, of which he was next Heir, and to the Empire besides.

The King had also resolv'd with himself to live a more strict and religious Life than he had formerly

A. D.

1498.

The De-

signs of

Charles

VIII. a

little be-

fore his

Death.

His pious

and just

Resolu-

tions.



A. D. formerly done, to regulate the Laws, to reform  
1498. the Church, and so to rectifie his Revenue that

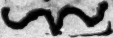
he would not raise above 1200000 Franks upon his Subjects by way of Tax, which was the Sum given him by the three Estates at their Convention at *Tours*, upon his Accession to the Throne. He intended the said Sum should be employ'd in the Defence of the Kingdom, and for himself he would live upon his Crown-Lands as his Predecessors had done before him, which he might easily have done if it had been well manag'd, for his Revenue (comprehending his Duties and Customs) came to above a Million a Year. Had he done as he resolv'd, it would have been a great Ease to the People, who pay now above two Millions and a half. He was very earnest likewise to have reform'd the Order of *St. Benedict*, and others. He got good Preachers about him, and was a constant Hearer of them. He would fain have order'd it so that a Bishop should have enjoy'd but one Bishoprick, a Cardinal two, and both be oblig'd to be resident upon their Benefices; but he would have found it a difficult Task to have persuaded the Clergy to it. He gave Alms liberally to the Poor not many Days before his Death, as I was since inform'd by his Confessor the Bishop of *Angiers*, who is a very eminent Prelate. He had erected also a Place for publick Audience, where he heard and dispatch'd several Causes, especially for the Poor; in which Place I saw him two Hours together not above a Week before he died, after which time I never saw him again. Matters of great Moment were not dispatch'd there, but he had set up that Court to keep People in awe, especially his Officers, some of which he suspended for Bribery and Corruption.

*A publick  
Court e-  
rected by  
Charles  
VIII. to  
redress the  
Grievan-  
ces of the  
Poor.*

The

The King being in great Glory in relation to this World, and in a good Mind as to God, on the 7th of April, 1498. being Palm-Sunday Eve, took his Queen (*Anne of Bretagne*) by the Hand, and led her out of her Chamber to a Place where she had never been before, to see them play at Ball in the Castle-ditch. They entred together into a Gallery call'd *la Galerie Haquelebac*, upon the Account of its being formerly kept by one *Haquelebac*. It was the nastiest Place about the Castle, broken down at the Entrance, and every body piss'd in it that would: The King was no tall Man, yet he knock'd his Head as he went in. He spent some time in looking upon the Gamesters, and talk'd freely with every body: I was not there my self (for I was gone to my Country-seat about a Week before) but his Confessor the Bishop of *Angiers*, and the Gentlemen of his Bed-Chamber, who were then about him, told me what I write. The last Expression he us'd whilst he was in Health was, that he hop'd never to commit a mortal Sin again, nor a venial if he could help it; and with those Words in his Mouth he fell down backwards, and lost his Speech. It was about two in the Afternoon when he fell, and he lay till eleven a Clock at Night. Thrice he recover'd his Speech, but he quickly lost it again, as his Confessor told me, who had confess'd him twice that Week, one of course, and the other upon occasion of his Touching for the *Kings-Evil*. Every one went into the Gallery that pleas'd. He was laid upon a coarse Bed at first, and he never went off it till he died, which was 9 Hours after. The Confessor told me, that every time he recover'd his Speech he call'd out upon God, the glorious *Virgin Mary*, *St. Claude*, and

A. D.  
1498.



The  
Death of  
Charles  
VIII.  
King of  
France.  
St.

A. D. St. *Blaise*, to assist him. And thus died that great 1498. and powerful Monarch, in a sordid and filthy Place; tho' he had so many magnificent Palaces of his own, and was building another more stately than any of them; yet he died in a Chamber much unsuitable to himself. How plain then and natural is it from these two Examples for us to acknowledge the Power and Omnipotence of God; that our Life is but a Span and a Trifle, tho' we are so greedy and ambitious after the Riches of this World; and that a Prince has his Fate as well as a Peasant.

*A just and  
Christian-  
like Re-  
flection.*

## C H A P. XIX.

*Of the Burning Friar Jerome at Florence by the Malice and Sollicitation of the Pope, and several Venetians and Florentines who were his Enemies.*



IN my Relation of the Affairs of Italy, I have mention'd a *Jacobin* Friar, who liv'd at Florence for the Space of fifteen Years, was very remarkable for the Sanctity of his Life, and whom I saw and convers'd with in the Year 1495. His Name was *Jerome*; and he had foretold several things which afterward came to pass. He affirm'd the King should make another Voyage into Italy, declaring it publickly in his Sermons, and pretending he had both that and other things by revelation from God; by whom he pronounc'd our King to be chosen to reform the Church by Force, and chastise the Insolence of Tyrants.

But



But his pretending to Revelation created him many Enemies, made him incur the Displeasure of the Pope, and gain'd him ill Will from several in *Florence*: His Life and his Discourse (as far as could be discover'd) were the severest and most holy in the World, declaiming perpetually against Sin, and making many Profelytes in that City. In the same Year 1498. and within four or five Days after the Death of King *Charles VIII.* died this *Jacobin* also; which I mention the rather, because he had always publickly asserted that the King should return again into *Italy*, to accomplish the Commission which God had given him for the Reforming of the Church by the Sword, and the Expulsion of the Tyrants of that Country; and that in Case the King refus'd or neglected it, God would punish him for it severely; all which former Sermons, and those he preach'd at this Time he caus'd to be printed, and they are to be seen at this Day. His Threats to the King, of God's severe Anger, if he return'd not into *Italy*, he wrote several times to his Majesty a little before his Death; and he told me as much at my Return out of *Italy*, assuring me that Sentence was pronounc'd in Heaven against the King; provided he refus'd to observe what God had commanded, and did not keep his Soldiers from plundering. About the time of the King's Death, there were great Divisions among the *Florentines*. Some expected the King's Return, and very earnestly desir'd it upon Confidence in Friar *Jerome's* Assurance, and in that Confidence they exhausted and ruin'd themselves in their Expences for the Recovery of *Pisa*, and the rest of the Towns which they had deliver'd to the King; but *Pisa* was in the Possession of the *Venetians*. Some were for siding with the League,

A. D.

1498.

A. D. 1498. and deserting our King, and they alledg'd that all was but Folly and Delusion, and that Friar *Ferome* was a Heretick and a Hypocrite, and that he ought to be put into a Sack, and thrown into the River; but he had Friends in the Town which protected him against that. The Pope and the Duke of *Milan* wrote often against him, assuring the *Florentines* that *Pisa* and the rest of their Towns should be restor'd, if they would abandon our King and punish Friar *Ferome*. It accidentally happen'd, that at the time of the King's Death the Senate consisted of several of Friar *Ferome*'s Enemies, (for the Senate in that Country is chang'd every two Months) who suborn'd a *Cordelier* to quarrel with him, and to proclaim him a *Heretick*, and an *Abuser of the People*, in pretending to Revelation, and to declare publicly that there was no such thing; and to prove what he said, he challeng'd him to the Fire before the Senate. Friar *Ferome* had more Wit; but one of his Brethren offer'd to do it for him, and another of the *Cordeliers* would do as much for the other; so that a Day was appointed when they were to come to their Tryal, and both of them presented themselves with all the Friars of their Orders. The *Jacobin* brought the Host in his Hand, which the Senate and *Cordeliers* insisted he should lay by; but the *Jacobin* being obstinate to the contrary, and resolv'd not to part with it, they return'd all to their Convents. The People encourag'd by Friar *Ferome*'s Enemies, and authoriz'd by the Senate, went to his Convent, and fetch'd him and two more of his Brethren out, and tortur'd him most cruelly, killing the chief Man in the City, (call'd *Franscisco Vallori*) only for being his Friend. The Pope sent them Power and Commission to make out

out Process against him, and at last he and his two Brethren were burnt. His Charge consisted only of two Articles; That he created Discord in the City, and that he was an Impostor; and what he pretended by Revelation he understood by his Friends in the Council. For my own Part I will neither condemn nor excuse him, nor will I say they did ill or well in putting him to Death; but I am sure he foretold several Things which afterwards came to pass, and which all his Friends in Florence could never have suggested. And as to our Master, and the Evils with which he threatned him, they happen'd exactly as you have heard; first the Death of the Dauphin, and then his own, of which I have seen Letters under his own Hand to the King.

A. D.

1498.

*The Burn-  
ing of Fri-  
ar Jerome.*

C H A P. XX.

*The Obsequies and Funeral of Charles VIII.  
The Coronation of his Successor Lewis XII.  
with the Genealogies of the Kings of  
France to King Lewis XII.*



THE Distemper of which the King died was an *Apoplexy*, or a *Stemper of Catarrh*, which the Physicians hop'd would have fallen down into one of his Arms; and tho' it might have taken away the Use of that, they were in no Fear of his Death. His Majesty had four Physicians about him, but his greatest Confidence was in him that had the least Knowledge and Experience in Physick; and by his Directions he was so entirely govern'd that the other three durst not give their Judg-

*The Di-  
temper of  
which  
Charles  
VIII. died.*



A. D. 1498. ments, tho' they saw the Indications of Death, and would have order'd him a Purge three or four Days before. All People address'd themselves to the Duke of Orleans immediately, as next Heir to the Crown; but the Gentlemen of King Charles's Bed-Chamber buried him in great Pomp and Solemnity. As soon as he was dead Service was begun for his Soul, which continu'd Day and Night; for when the *Canons* had done the *Cordeliers* began; and when they had ended, the *Bons-hommes* or *Minimes* took it up, which was an Order of his own Foundation. He lay eight Days at *Amboise*, part of them in a Chamber very richly furnish'd, and part in the Church: In short, he lay in great State, and the whole Solemnity was more costly than any of his Predecessors had been. The Gentlemen of his Bed-Chamber, all that belong'd to his Person, and all the Officers of his Court never stirr'd from his Corps, but waited constantly; and the Service continu'd till his Body was interr'd, which was about a Month after, and as I have been told by some of the Officers of his Exchequer, cost 45000 Franks. I came to *Amboise* two Days after his Death, went to pay my Devotions upon his Tomb, and staid there five or six Hours. To speak impartially, I never saw so solemn a Mourning for any Prince, nor that continu'd so long; and no wonder, for he had been more bountiful to his Favourites, to those Gentlemen of his Bed-chamber, and ten or twelve Gentlemen of his Privy-Chamber, had treated them better, and given them greater Estates than any King had ever done before; and indeed he gave some of them too much. Besides he was the most affable and sweetest natur'd Prince in the World. I verily believe he never

*The Order of Minimes instituted by Charles VIII.*

*The Expences of his Funeral.*

*A Character of Charles VIII.*

never said that Word to any Man that could in reason displease him; so that he could never have died in a better Hour to make himself memorable in History, and lamented by all that serv'd him. I do really think I was the only Person in the whole World he was unkind to; but being sensible it was in his Youth, and not at all his own Doing, I could not resent it.

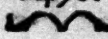
Having lain one Night at *Amboise*, I went and paid my Respects to the new King, with whom I had been formerly as intimate as any other Person about the Court, and much of my Troubles and Losses were for his sake; but then all our former Acquaintance, and the Service I had done him were forgotten. However, he entred upon his Government with great Wisdom. He alter'd not any Pensions for that Year, though they were six Months behind. He retrench'd nothing of his Salaries, but declar'd that every Officer in his Kingdom should continue in the same Post he found him, which was very honourable and discreet. As soon as all things could be got ready, he proceeded to his

(a) Coronation, and I was there among the rest. The Peers of *France* (according to ancient Custom) were represented by these following: The Duke of *Alençon* represented the Duke of *Burgundy*; Monsieur de *Bourbon* the Duke of *Normandy*; and the Duke of *Lorraine* the Duke of *Guienne*. The first of the Earls was Monsieur de *Ravestein*, who represented the Earl of *Flanders*. The second was *Engilbert de Cloves* who represented the Earl of

A. D.  
1498.

The Author but coldly received by Lewis XII.

(a) The Coronation of this Prince, at which the Author assisted, is to be seen at large in the Volume of the *French Ceremonial*, Page 231.

A. D. *Champagne*, and the third was *Monfieur de Foix*, 1498. who represented the Earl of *Thouloufe*; the faid In-  
 auguration was at *Rheims* the 27th of *May* 1498. and this *Lewis XII.* was the fourth King who came collaterally to the Crown. The two first were *Charles Martel*, or *Pepin* his Son, and *Hugh Capet*, both of them Mayors of the Palace, or Governors of their Kings; afterwards they turn'd Usurpers, depos'd their Masters, and took the Government upon themselves. The third was King *Philip* of *Valois*, and the fourth King *Lewis* who now reigns. But the two last came by a just and indisputable Title to the Crown. The first Race of the Kings of *France* is deduc'd from *Meroveus*; there had been two Kings before this *Meroveus*, that is to say, *Pharamond*, who was the first that was elected King of *France*; for before his Time they were call'd Dukes or Kings of *Gaul*, and after him one of his Sons call'd *Clodion*. *Pharamond* was chosen King in the Year 420, and reign'd ten Years: His Son *Clodion* reign'd eighteen, so that *Pharamond* and his Son reign'd eight and twenty Years. *Meroveus* who succeeded was not *Clodion*'s Son but his Kinsman; so that there seems to have been five Interruptions in the Royal Line. However, as I said before, the Genealogy of the Kings of *France* begins generally at *Meroveus*, who was made King in the Year 448. so that the right Line is deriv'd from thence, and runs down to *Lewis XII.* who was crown'd 1090 Years after the Pedigree of the said Kings began. They who would divide it from King *Pharamond* need only add 28 more, and the number will amount to 1078 Years since they were call'd *Kings of France*. From *Meroveus* to King *Pepin* there were 333 Years, during which time the Line of *Meroveus* lasted. From King *Pepin* to *Hugh Capet* there were

Pharamond the first King of France.

The Genealogy of the Kings of France.



were two hundred and thirty seven Years, and that time the Line of King *Pepin* and his Son *Charlemagne* continued, *Hugh Caper's* Line lasted 339 Years, and expired before *Philip de Valois*, and then the Line of the said *Philip de Valois* extinguish'd in *Charles VIII.* who (as is said before) died in the Year 1498. and was the last of that Family which had continued Kings 169 Years, during which time seven Kings had succeeded of that Line, that is to say *Philip de Valois*, King *John*, King *Charles V.* King *Charles VI.* King *Charles VII.* *Lewis XI.* and King *Charles VIII.* who was the last of the right Line of *Philip de Valois.* A. D. 1498.

The End of the MEMOIRS of *Philip de Comines*, Lord of *Argenton.*

were two hundred and thirty seven Years, and A. D.  
 this time the King of France was his son 1498.  
 Comines was continued King of France, and lived  
 200 Years, and reigned before 1498, and  
 and then the time of the last Year of his ex-  
 reigned in France till who was a last before  
 died in the Year 1500, and was the last of the  
 family which had reigned in France 100 Years,  
 during which time seven Kings had reigned  
 and said that is why that a French King  
 was King of France, King of Navarre, King  
 of Aragon, King of Sicily, and King of Castile  
 and was the last of the right line of France.

The End of the MEMOIRS of Philip  
 de Comines, Lord of Senece.

The Secret  
**HISTORY**  
OF  
**LEWIS XI.**  
King of **FRANCE:**

Otherwise call'd, The  
*Scandalous Chronicle.*

GIVING AN  
Historical and Chronological Account of several Remarkable Accidents and Adventures that happen'd in **FRANCE**, and other Neighbouring **STATES** and **KINGDOMS**, from the Year 1460. to 1483. inclusively.

---

Written by One **JOHN DE TROYES**,  
Register of the Town-House of *Paris*.

---

**L O N D O N:**  
Printed for **JOHN PHILLIPS** at the *Black Bull*  
in *Cornhill*. 1712.



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Written by One JOHN DAVENANT, Register of the Town-House of London.

LONDON, Printed for Iohn Iaggard, at the Sign of the Gun, in St. Dunstons Church-yard, 1676.

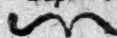


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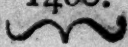


O the Honour and Praise of God The Au-  
our sweet Saviour and Redeemer, <sup>thor's</sup>  
and the blessed glorious Virgin <sup>Preface.</sup>  
Mary; without whose Assistance  
no good Works can be perform'd.  
Knowing that several Kings,  
Princes, Counts, Barons, Prelates,  
Noblemen, Ecclesiasticks, and abundance of the Com-  
mon People, are often pleas'd and delighted in hearing  
and reading the surprising Histories of wonderful  
Things that have happen'd in divers Places both of  
this and other Christian States and Kingdoms, I ap-  
ply'd

ply'd my self with abundance of Pleasure from the 35th Year of my Age, instead of spending my Time in Sloth and Idleness, so writing a History of several remarkable Accidents and Adventures that happen'd in France, and in other Neighbouring Kingdoms, as far as my Memory would permit me; but especially from the Year 1460. in the Reign of Charles VII. to the Death of Lewis XI. his Son, who died the 30th of August, in the Year 1483. However, I neither design nor expect that this Historical Essay of mine should be call'd a Chronicle, being wholly unfit for so bold an Undertaking; neither indeed was I ever employ'd or permitted to write one, but what I have here ventur'd to record, is purely by way of Amusement to please and divert those who will give themselves the Trouble of Reading or hearing it Read; whom I also humbly entreat to excuse, and supply my Ignorance, by correcting and altering whatever they find amiss: For abundance of these remarkable Accidents have happen'd after so very different and so strange a manner, that it would have been a very difficult Task, either for me or any other Writer, to have given an exact and particular Account of every thing that happen'd during so long a Series of Time.

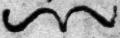
A. D. 1460.  AND first of all then concerning the Goodness and Fertility of the Earth in the Year 1460. which was so prodigious fruitful throughout the whole Kingdom of France, and bore such plenteous Crops of Corn, that at the very dearest time a Quarter of Wheat was sold but for Twenty four Parisian Sols; but there was a great Scarcity of Fruit, and as for the Vines, there was but little Wine, especially in the Isle of France, so that they had scarce an Hogshead to every Acre of Ground, but the Wine was extraordinary good, and that which grew



grew in the fat Vineyards round *Paris*, was A. D. sold very dear, and bore the Price of ten or 1460. eleven Crowns a Hogthead. 

ABOUT that time several poor indigent Wretches that were guilty of Thieving, Sacrilege, House-breaking, and other enormous Crimes, were made an Example of; and severely punish'd at *Paris*, amongst whom some were only whipp'd at the Cart's Tail, and afterwards pardon'd, as being their first Offence; and others who were old Offenders, and had been often guilty of Crimes of the like Nature, were condemn'd to be hang'd, and executed accordingly.

MUCH about that time also a certain Woman nam'd *Perrette Mauger* was condemn'd to be burnt alive, for having committed several Robberies, and for harbouring and concealing several notorious Thieves and House-breakers, who had committed divers Robberies in and about *Paris*; as also for having sold and dispos'd of the said Goods that were stoln by these Thieves, and sharing with 'em the Money that arose from the Sale thereof: For which Crimes, and several other besides, which she confess'd at last, she was condemn'd by M. *Robert Destoutenville*, Mayor of *Paris*, to be burnt alive at the Stake before the Gallows, and all her Goods and Chattels to be forfeited to the King. From which Sentence she formally appeal'd to the Court of Parliament, upon the Account of which Appeal her Execution was deferr'd for some time; but after the Parliament had examin'd into her Tryal, they confirm'd the above-mention'd Sentence, and having declar'd that the said *Perrette Mauger* had no manner of Grounds for her Appeal,

A. D. 1460.  order'd it immediately to be executed; upon which she declar'd her self to be with Child, which deferr'd the Execution a little longer; and presently a Jury of Midwives and Matrons were impannel'd and order'd to search her, who upon a strict Examination reported to the Judges that she was not breeding, upon which Report she was immediately order'd to be burnt before the Gallows by *Henry Cousin* Hangman of *Paris*.

*Strange* ADVENTURES that hap-  
pen'd in England in the same Year  
1460.

IN this Year the Pope sent a Legate into England, who preach'd to the People of that Country, but especially in *London* the Chief City of that Kingdom; where he made several Remonstrances to the Inhabitants of that and the adjacent Parts much to the Prejudice, and contrary to the Interest of *Henry VI.* King of *England*; which Remonstrances the Cardinal of *York*, who accompany'd the Legate, explain'd in their own Language, with a long Exposition on the same. Upon which the Common People, who were wavering and fickle enough at the best, began to rise up in Rebellion against King *Henry*, and his Queen Daughter of *Renè* King of *Sicily* and *Jerusalem*, and their Son the Prince of *Wales*. The Common People chose the Earl of *Warwick* for their Head, who was Governor of *Calais*, in the Room of *Richard* Duke of *York*, who pretended to be King, and boldly maintain'd the King-

Kingdom of *England* belong'd to him, as being the next Heir of the Family of King *Richard II.* A little time afterwards the Duke of *York*, who had assembled a great Number of the Populace in Arms, took the Field, and march'd directly to a Park, where *Henry VI.* was, attended by several Dukes, Princes, and other Lords, all in Arms also. There were eight Avenues that led to this Park, and these were guarded by eight Barons of the Kingdom, all of them Traitors and Rebels to King *Henry*; who as soon as they were inform'd of the Duke of *York's* Arrival, immediately gave him Admittance into the Park, with the Earl of *Warwick*, and several others, who went directly to the Place where the King was, whom without any farther (a) Ceremony they seiz'd upon. Immediately after this Action, they slew several Princes and great Lords of the Blood Royal, that were with him. When the Earl of *Warwick* had so done, he took King *Henry* and brought him directly to *London*, carrying the naked Sword before him, as if he had been his Constable; and upon his Arrival at *London*, he led him strait to the *Tower*, in which there were four Barons of the Kingdom of King *Henry's* Party, that were kept Prisoners there; to whom King *Henry* some time after, and the Earl of *Warwick* gave very fair Words, and releas'd 'em out of the *Tower*, after they had solemnly promis'd

A a a 4 'em

(a) *Thomas*, the Son of Sir *Edward Talbot* of *Lancashire* apprehended King *Henry VI.* as he sat at Dinner at *Waddington-Hall* in *Cleatherwood* in *Lancashire*, and forgetting all Respect due to so great a Prince, like a common Malefactor with his Legs tied under his Horse's Belly, guarded him up towards *London*. By the way the Earl of *Warwick* met him, who arrested him, and taking off his gilt Spurs, led him Prisoner to the *Tower*.



A. D. 1460. *W*em that their Persons should be protected from all manner of Danger whatsoever, and in Confidence of these fair Promises they consented to go out of the *Tower*. But as they were leading these four Barons after King *Henry* and the Earl of *Warwick*, there happen'd to be an Insurrection of the Mobb, and some of 'em came and kill'd one of the Barons, and gave him several Blows and Contusions; and the next Day, notwithstanding all the fine Promises that were made them, the three other Barons were executed on *Tower-hill*.

At the same time there arose a great Quarrel between the King's Officers belonging to the Court of *Aids*, and one of the Beadles of the University of *Paris*, for some Affront that the said Beadle had given to two Counsellors of the same Court; for which Misdemeanour the said Beadle was put into the Common Goal of *Paris*; which Method of proceeding the whole University highly resented, and were so extremely displeas'd with it, that till the Affair was accommodated, and the Beadle restor'd to his Liberty, they refus'd either to preach, pray, or read to the People; but upon his Enlargement they were well satisfied, and perform'd their usual Duty.

ABOUT this time a certain Person call'd *Anthony* the Bastard of *Burgundy* came into *Paris* in a Disguise, and staid there only one Day and a Night; and when the Inhabitants of the City were inform'd of his coming in that manner, several Officers and Men of Note could not imagine what should be the Meaning of it; and immediately dispatch'd certain Persons to carry the News of it to the King, who spoke very favourably of the Citizens,

zens, and declar'd they were not in the least A. D. privy to his coming in that clandestine Way. 1460. Upon which the King in all haste sends the Marshal *de Lobeac*, and M. *John Bureau* Treasurer of *France*, to enquire into the Truth of the Relation that was brought him, and to take all the Care imaginable to prevent whatever Designs this Emiffary of the House of *Burgundy* might have form'd in the City. At the same time also the Citizens of *Paris*, (to free themselves from all manner of Suspicion of their consenting to his coming *incognito*) deputed some of the chief of their Citizens, amongst whom were M. *John de Lolive*, Dr. of Divinity, and Chancellor of the Church of *Paris*, *Nicholas de Louviers*, M. *John Clerebourg* Master of the Mint, M. *John Lullier* Town-Clerk, *James Rebours* Attorney, *John Volant* Merchant, and several others, to represent the Matter fairly to the King. His Majesty receiv'd them very graciously; and after they had ended their Speech, which was made to clear their Innocence, he was extremely well satisfied with them, and having given them a very mild and gracious Answer, they return'd to *Paris* with great Joy and Gladness of Heart.

At that time M. *Robert Destouteville*, who was Mayor of *Paris*, was committed Prisoner to the *Bastille*, and afterwards to the *Louvre*, by the Command of the Marshal *de Lobeac* and M. *John Bureau*; for some Injustice and Abuses he had committed in the Exercise of his Office, tho' it was never fairly prov'd upon him. About that time also several rude and uncivil Actions were committed by M. *John Advin*, Counsellor of the Parliament of *Paris*, in the

A. D. the House of the said *Destoutville*, such as  
 1460. searching of Boxes, Trunks, and other Places  
 for Letters; not to mention the several Incivilities he offer'd to the Lady *Ambroise de Lore*, his Wife, who was a Woman of great Vertue, Honour and Wisdom.

IN this Year the Rivers of *Seine* and the *Marne* were swoln so prodigiously, that in one Night's time the *Marne* rose above six Foot high about *St. Maur des-Fosses*, and did a great deal of Damage in several Places; but among the rest the River came up so high in a Village call'd *Claye*, in which there was a Palace belonging to the Bishop of *Meaux*, that it wash'd away all the Brick-work of the Front of it, where there were two stately Towers newly erected, in which there were fine and large Apartments, richly furnish'd and adorn'd with Tapestry, Pictures, &c. but the River swept all away.

ABOUT that time also it happen'd, that the Body of the Church of *Fescamp* in *Normandy* was burnt down to the Ground by a fiery Exhalation that came from the Sea towards the Marshes of *Cornwall*; and caught hold of the Steeple of the said Abbey which was quite consum'd, and all the Bells melted down, to the great Loss and Detriment of the Abbot and his whole Fraternity.

AT the same time there was a great Noise and Discourse all over the Kingdom of *France*, and other Places, of a Young Girl of about eighteen Years of Age, who liv'd in the City of *Mans*, and play'd several ridiculous Pranks and Follies; such as foaming at the Mouth, leaping into the Air, screaming out aloud, putting



putting her Body into a thousand convulsive A. D. Motions, and pretending to be tormented by the Devil; by which antick Tricks, and several others too tedious to mention here, she impos'd upon and cheated abundance of People that came to see her. But at last she was discover'd to be an idle Hussy, and that she play'd all her Devilish Pranks by the Instigation and Contrivance of some of the Officers belonging to the Bishop of *Mans*, who maintain'd her for that Purpose; and had so far brought her to their Beck, that she would do any thing they bid her, and they had train'd her up from her Infancy to play these Pranks.

ABOUT the same time it happen'd in *England* some time after the Earl of *Warwick's* seizing upon the Person of King *Henry*, that the Duke, of *Somerset* the King's Cousin, in Conjunction with several Young Noblemen, Relations and Heirs to those who were slain at the taking of King *Henry*, having got together a considerable Body of Men, took the Field, and marching directly against the Duke of *York*, found him encamp'd in the Plains of (a) *St. Albans*, where they gave him Battle, and

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(a) The Battle was not fought at *St. Albans*, but at *Wakefield* in *Yorkshire*, on the 30th of *December*, 1460. in which the Duke of *York* was kill'd, and afterwards had his Head cut off, and by way of Derision a Crown of Paper, not of Straw, as our Author writes, set upon it, and presented to Queen *Margaret*, who not long after sent it with the Heads of other Lords to be fix'd upon Poles over the Gate of the City of *York*. The Person that committed this ungenerous Action was the Lord *Clifford*, who after the Battle of *Wakefield* in cold Blood murder'd the Young Earl of *Rutland*, the Duke of *York's* Third Son.

A. D. 1460. and cut him and his whole Army to pieces. In this Battle the Duke of *York* was slain himself, and when his Body was found they cut off his Head, and by way of Derision, because he pretended to the Crown of *England*, they fix'd it upon the Point of a Lance, and put a Crown of Straw in the Form of a Royal Crown upon it. With him there fell in the Battle six and twenty Barons, Knights, Esquires, and Persons of Note in the Kingdom; besides a great Number of Common Soldiers, amounting in all to above eight or nine thousand Men.

AND on *Wednesday* the 3d. of *February* in the same Year 1460. were read and publish'd at *Roan*, and in several other Places in the Dutchy of *Normandy*, in the publick Market-places by Sound of Trumpet, the King's Letters Patent; by which he declar'd it was his Royal Will and Pleasure that the whole Country of *Normandy* together with its Sea-ports, should be free and open to all *English* Men and Women, of what Rank or Condition soever; and in what Habit soever they shall think fit to wear, (provided they were of King *Henry's* Party,) and without having any Passport, to have free Liberty of Trade and Commerce throughout his whole Kingdom.

D. A.  
1461.

IN the Year 1461. in the Month of *July*, it happen'd that King *Charles VII.* fell sick at the Castle of *Meum* upon the *Yeure*, of a Distemper that was incurable, and of which he died on *Wednesday* the 22d of *July*, between One and Two a Clock in the Afternoon, much lamented by the whole Kingdom; as being a very wise and valiant Prince, and leaving his Kingdom in a very peaceful and flourishing Condition.

ON IMMEDIATELY after the Death of the King A. D. 1461. was publickly known, the greatest part of the Officers of *Paris*, and several others of the Kingdom, went to pay their Respects to the *Dauphin*, who resided at the Duke of *Burgundy's* Court in *Hainault*; and who by the Decease of his Father came to the Crown of *France*. The Occasion of their waiting on him there, was, to know his Royal Will and Pleasure; and whether they should be continued in the same Posts and Employments they enjoy'd under his Father: At which Place after his Death he made a Promotion of several Officers in the Chamber of Accounts or Exchequer, at *Paris*: Amongst the rest, he made M. *Peter l'Orfeure* Lord of *Dermenonville*, and *Nicholas de Louviers* Counsellors of the same Exchequer, and M. *John Baillett* Master of the Requests, and Reporter of the Court of *Chancery*: He also confirm'd M. *Simon Charles*, who was carried in a Litter into *Hainault*, in the Place he was possess'd of in the Exchequer: and the rest of the Officers that came thither to beg the Favour of being continued in their respective Posts and Employments, were order'd back to *Paris* to wait for the King's coming thither.

AND upon the 24th of *July*, 1461. M. *Ethienne*, Knight; who was Treasurer or Chief Director of the *Finances* in the Reign of the late King *Charles*, and whom he appointed to be one of the Executors of his last Will and Testament, as also M. *Dreux Bude* the Grand (a) *Audientier* of *France* went from *Paris* to visit the King's Corps that lay in State at *Meun*; but the

(a) One of the Chief Officers of the Chancery of *France*, who examines all Letters-Patents, &c. before they pass the Seals.



A. D. the Lord *d'Aigreville* Captain of *Montargis* at the  
 1461. earnest Sollicitation of a certain Gentleman  
 nam'd *Vnaſte Morpedon* caus'd them both to be  
 feiz'd at *Montargis*; where they remain'd Prison-  
 ers for ſome time, till the King ſent Orders  
 for their Release, and continu'd 'em both in  
 their reſpective Employments of *Treſurer* and  
*Audiencier*.

BUT it was very obſervable, that on the  
 23d of *July* in 1461. which was the next Day  
 after the King's Death, a large blazing Star was  
 ſeen in the Sky about ſeven a Clock at Night,  
 which caſt ſuch a glaring and reſplendent  
 Light through the Air, that all *Paris* ſeem'd to  
 be in a Flame; but Heaven in its Mercy has  
 been ſtill pleas'd to preſerve that good City.

ON *Thursday* the 6th of *Auguſt*, 1461. the  
 Body of the late King *Charles VII.* was brought  
 from *Meum* with great Solemnity, to the  
 Church of *Noſtre-Dame* in the Fields, without  
 the Gates of *Paris*: And the next Day the  
 Clergy, Nobility, Officers, Citizens, and  
 abundance of the Populace repair'd thither;  
 and conducted it from thence to *Paris*, with a  
 great deal of Pomp, Ceremony and Reſpect,  
 as is uſual upon ſuch Occaſions. The Funeral  
 Proceſſion was thus regulated. Before the  
 Corps were born two hundred Wax-Candles  
 of four Pounds each, adorn'd and painted with  
 the Arms of *France*, and carry'd by two hun-  
 dred inferiour Perſons dress'd in long Mourning  
 Robes and Black Caps; the Body was  
 born in a Litter by the Salt-Porters of *Paris*,  
 which was lin'd and cover'd with a rich Cloth  
 of Gold valu'd at twelve Hundred Crowns of  
 Gold; and upon the top of it was plac'd the  
 Effigies of the late King *Charles* dress'd in his  
 Royal

Royal Robes, with a Crown on his Head, A. D. 1461. holding in one Hand a Scepter, and in the other a Regal Truncheon; and in this State it was carried to the great Church of *Nostre Dame* in *Paris*; all the Bell-Men of the City cloath'd also in Black, and bearing on each side of their Gowns the Arms of *France*, marching before it; and after them came those that bore the Candles, adorn'd and painted with the same Arms, before the Litter. After the Litter came the Duke of *Orleans* and the Count *d'Angoulesme* as Chief Mourners, accompany'd by the Counts *d'Eu* and *Dunois*; *M. John Jouvenelle des Voisins*, Knight and Chancellor of *France*, and the Master of the Horse, all cloath'd in deep Mourning, and mounted on Horseback; Next to them march'd all the Officers of the Household to the late King, on Foot, by two and two, dress'd in deep Mourning also; and close to the Litter rode six Pages in Black upon six fine Horses cover'd all over with Black Velvet, which was a very dismal and melancholy Sight to behold. And there was such an universal Concern and Lamentation for his Death, that scarce a dry Eye was left in the whole City; nay, 'tis reported, that one of his Pages took his Master's Death so to Heart; that for four whole Days together, he neither eat nor drank any thing. The next Day, which was the 9th of *August*, his Body was remov'd from the Church of *Nostre Dame* in *Paris* about three in the Afternoon; and carried with the above-mention'd Pomp and Ceremony to *St. Dennis*, where it was deposited, and now lies.

A. D. 1461. TOWARDS the End of this Month our most Gracious Sovereign *Lewis XI.* then only *Dauphin* and eldest Son of *Charles VII.* lately deceased, was crown'd King of *France* at *Rheims* by the Archbishop *Jourvenel*, where he was attended by the greatest part of the Nobility of his Kingdom.

UPON the last Day of this Month of *August* the King set out from an *Hotel* nam'd *les Porcherons*, which was in the Suburbs near the Gate of *St. Honnore*, belonging to *M. John Bureau*, who was knighted at his Coronation at *Rheims*, in order to make his Publick Entry into *Paris*; upon which the whole Body of the Nobility, Clergy and Gentry came out to pay their Homage to him, and welcome him to their City; amongst whom were the Bishop of *Paris* nam'd *William Chartier*, the whole University, the Court of Parliament, the Mayor of *Paris*, all the Officers of the Exchequer, and the Provost of Merchants, with the Aldermen in their Damask Robes lin'd with Sables. And the Mayor and Aldermen, after they had saluted and paid their Respects to the King, presented him with the Keys of the City-Gates through which he was to make his Entry, which he very graciously return'd; and then the Way was order'd to be clear'd to make Room for others to approach his Majesty, and make their Compliment to him, of which Number he made a great many Knights on the spot. As the King pass'd through the Gate of *St. Dennis*, he found near the Church of *St. Ladre* a Herald mounted on Horseback and cloath'd in the City-Livery, who presented him with five Ladies on the part of the City, richly dress'd, and mounted on five fine Horses sumptuously



ptuously accoutred with rich Furniture, on which were embroider'd the City-Arms; and these five Ladies were habited after a sort of a manner representing the five Letters of *Paris*, and every one of 'em made a Speech to the King, which was prepar'd for 'em before-hand. A. D. 1461.

THERE was a very great Appearance at the King's Publick Entry into *Paris*, both of his own Nobility, and of Foreign Princes and Noblemen; amongst whom were the Dukes of *Orleans*, *Burgundy*, *Bourbon* and *Cleves*; the Count *de Charolois* the Duke of *Burgundy's* eldest Son; the Counts *d'Angoulesme*, *St. Paul* and *Dunois*, besides several other Earls, Barons, Knights, Captains, and a great Number of Persons of Note and Distinction; who, in Honour of the Day, and to augment the Splendour and Magnificence of the triumphal Entry, had bestow'd vast Sums in rich and costly Furniture, with which their Horses were caparison'd; some of their Housings were of the richest Cloth of Gold, made after different Fashions, and lin'd with Sables; others were of Crimson Velvet, lin'd with Ermin or rich Damask, embroider'd with Gold and Silver, and hung round with great Silver Bells, which were of a considerable Value; and upon the Horses rode fine young Pages, the very Flower of Youth and Beauty, richly dress'd, and wearing an embroider'd Scarf over their Shoulders, that hung down to the Crupper, which made a very noble and gallant Shew.

THE *Parisians* on this Occasion caus'd a very fine Ship to be cast in Silver, which was born aloft upon Mens Shoulders; and just as the King made his Entry through the Gate of *St. Dennis*, it was plac'd upon the Draw-bridge

A. D. 1461. near the said Gate, to represent the City Arms. In it were plac'd three Persons representing the Three Estates of the Kingdom, and in the Stern and the Poop sat two more personating *Justice* and *Equity*, and out of the Scuttle, which was form'd in the Shape of a *Flower-de-Luce*, issued a King dress'd in Royal Robes, and attended by two Angels. A little farther at the Fountain *du Ponceau* there were Wild Men that play'd the Parts of Gladiators, and near them were plac'd three handsome Wenches stark naked, representing Mermaids with lovely hard White Bubbies, a glorious Sight! sporting and singing gay enlivening Airs, which were humour'd and accompany'd with the melodious Harmony of soft Musick. And to comfort and refresh the People, there were several Pipes in the said Fountain that ran Milk, Wine and *Hipocras*, of which every one drank what he pleas'd; and a little below the Fountain the Passion of our Saviour was represented as he was crucified between two Thieves. At a little distance from this Crucifix, there were posted a Band of Men richly dress'd, representing Hunters that had just run down a Stag; whose Death was accompany'd with the melodious Noise of Dogs and Horns; and in the *Rue de Boucherie* there were large Scaffolds erected in the Form of the *Bastile* at *Dieppe*. And when the King was pass'd by 'em, the *English* who were within the *Bastile* were furiously attack'd by the King's Soldiers, taken Prisoners, and had all their Throats cut. Opposite to the Gate of the *Chastellet* there was a fine Appearance of Persons of Quality; all the Windows were hung with rich Tapestry, and the Streets through which the King pass'd were

were crowded with a prodigious Number of A. D. People. In this pompous Manner he proceeded 1461. to the Church of *Nostre Dame*, and having perform'd his Devotions to the Blessed Virgin, he return'd to his Royal Palace, where he had a splendid and magnificent Entertainment, and lay there that Night. The next Morning, which was the first of September, in the Year 1461. he remov'd from thence into his *Hotel des Tournelles* near the *Bastille de St. Anthoine*, where he staid some time, during which, he made several Acts and Ordinances, and turn'd several of the Officers of his Kingdom out of their Posts and Employments; amongst the rest the Chancellor *Juvenal des Ursins*, the Marshal, Admiral, the first President of the Court of Parliament, and the Provost of *Paris*, and put new ones in their Places.

He also made a new Regulation in all his Courts of Justice and Offices belonging to the Crown, especially in the Exchequer, Treasury, and the Mint; turning out abundance of Counsellors, Secretaries, Receivers-General, Clerks, and other Officers of an inferiour Nature, and putting others in their Room.

THE third of September, 1461. the King attended by some of the Lords and Gentlemen of his Court, was entertain'd at Supper in the House of one M. *William de Corbie*, a Counsellor of the Court of Parliament, whom he made President of *Dauphinè* that very Night. There were abundance of fine Ladies and honest Citizens Wives to see the King at Supper; and during his stay at *Paris*, he order'd several Feasts and Entertainments to be made in divers Places of the City on purpose to treat and divert them.



A. D. 1461. ABOUT this time it happen'd, that a Beautiful Young Woman nam'd *Joan du Bois*, Wife to a certain Officer belonging to the *Chastellet* of *Paris*, made an Elopement from her Husband, but afterwards by the Counsel and Advice of his intimate Friends, he took her Home again; she became a very good Woman, and liv'd a sober and vertuous Life with her Husband.

A. D. 1462. IN the Year 1462. and 1463. nothing material or worth recording, happen'd, and therefore I have pass'd them over in Silence. And 1463. as for the Year 1463. as I have already observ'd, there was nothing happen'd in it worth taking Notice of, unless 'twas the shortness of the Winter, and the length of the Summer, which was extremely pleasant, and very favourable to the Vines, so that we had Plenty of good Wine that very Year, but a great Scarcity of all other Fruits of the Earth.

A. D. 1464. IN the Year 1464. upon *Tuesday* the 15th of *May* the King came from *Nogent le Roy*, where the Queen was brought to Bed of a Young Princess, and on the same Day in the Evening supp'd at *M. Charles d'Orgemont's* Lord of *Mery*, and from thence he set out for the Frontiers of *Picardy*, where he concluded to have found the Ambassadors whom *Edward* King of *England* had promis'd to send thither to him, but they never came; whereupon the King left *Picardy*, and made a Progress to *Roan*, and several other Places in *Normandy*. About that time it happen'd that a small Vessel of *Dieppe* was seiz'd upon the Coast of *Holland* by some of the Duke of *Burgundy's* Ships, in which there was a Person nam'd the Bastard of *Rubemprè*, who with the rest of the Ships Crew was immediately clapt into Prison, upon Pretence that

that their Design of hovering about those A. D. Parts was purely to seize upon the Person of 1464. the Count *de Charolois*: And this Report the *Flemings* spread abroad every where, but there was nothing in it.

ABOUT that time the King set out from *Normandy* in his Return to *Nogent*, from whence he went to visit *Tours*, *Chinon* and *Poitiers*; at which Place arriv'd the Deputies that were sent by the City of *Paris* to desire his Majesty to grant them farther Privileges; but all they were able to obtain of him, was only to be exempted from a small Tax call'd the *Foreign Impost*, which was no great Matter; and even that small Gift they did not enjoy, for the Clerks of the Exchequer, to whom their Letters Patents were directed, were negligent, and would not dispatch their Business in time. The Ambassadors of the Duke of *Bretagne* were likewise to wait on him there, whom he heard upon several Articles that were brought him, in relation to the Affair between the Duke and him; which Articles, or at least the greatest part of 'em, were granted and allow'd of by his Majesty; and by those Articles of Agreement the said Ambassadors did promise and engage that their Master the Duke of *Bretagne* should wait on his Majesty either at *Poitiers*, or elsewhere, to confirm and ratifie the said Articles. After which the Ambassadors took their Leave of the King, pretending to return into *Bretagne*; but they did quite the contrary, as you will find hereafter. The Day they set out from *Poitiers*, which was *Saturday*, they went but four Leagues, where they staid till the *Monday* following; and upon *Sunday* the Duke of *Berry* the King's own Brother departed from

A. D. 1464. *Poitiers* also, and lay that Night with the Ambassadors, who receiv'd him with abundance of Kindness and Civility, and the next Morning early in great haste they all set out together for *Bretagne*, fearing lest the King should be inform'd of his Brother's going with them, and upon that Account follow them; besides the Count *de Dunois* was already arriv'd at the Duke of *Bretagne*'s Court, which would be apt to give the King a Suspicion of some secret Designs on Foot against him.

Soon after the Departure of these Ambassadors, the Duke of *Bourbon* declares War against the King, and invades his Dominions, seizing upon whatever belong'd to the King, in his Territories, and putting the Lord *de Croussol*, a great Favourite of the King's, under an Arrest. This Lord *de Croussol* was only passing through his Country with his Lady and the rest of his Family; however, they were all of 'em arrested and confin'd in the City of *Cosne* in *Bourbonnois*.

AFTER this, *William Juvenal des Ursins* Lord of *Traynel*, formerly Chancellor of *France*, and *M. Peter Doriolle* the late Treasurer, were also arrested in the City of *Molins*, where they endur'd a long Imprisonment; but at last the Duke of *Bourbon* releas'd 'em, and gave 'em Liberty to go back to the King.

ON Sunday the 12th of *March* in the Year 1464. after the Duke of *Berry*'s Departure from *Poitiers*, *Anthony Chabannes* Count *de Dampmartin*, who was a Prisoner in the *Bastille de St. Anthoine*, made his Escape and fled into *Berry* and *Bourbonnois*, where he was kindly receiv'd by the Subjects of the Dukes of *Berry* and *Bourbon*. But several Persons who were suspected to be  
 necessary



accessary to his Escape, were immediately committed to Prison.

A. D.

1464.

ON *Wednesday* the 15th of *March* M. Charles de Melun the King's Lieutenant, M. John Balue Bishop of *Eureux*, and M. John the Mayor, with the King's Secretary, met together in the Town-House, where they caus'd several Articles that the King had given them in Charge, to be read; and after the Reading was over, they made several Acts and Ordinances for the better Defence and Security of the City, amongst the rest there was a particular Order to appoint a strong Watch to guard the City-Gates by Night, to shut them at a constant Hour, to have Iron-Chains fasten'd at the End of every Street to bar 'em up upon any Occasion, and several others, which being too long to be inserted here, I shall for Brevity's sake omit 'em.

BUT after the Escape of the Count de Dampmartin, the King found out a Stratagem to surprise the two strong Places of *Fourgeau* and *Morüe*, which were defended by *Jeffery Cueur*, Son of the late *James Cueur*, whom he made a Prisoner, and seiz'd upon all the Riches he found in them.

AS soon as this Business was over, the King, attended by the King of *Sicily* and the Lord du *Maine*, march'd towards *Angiers* and *Pont-de-Ce*; to demand of those who had so basely deserted him, what Reasons induc'd them to retire, and withdraw themselves into *Bretagne*. He order'd his Army, which was chiefly compos'd of the standing Forces of the Kingdom, and amounted to twenty or thirty Thousand Men, immediately to follow him; but after he had been there for some time, and found he could not possibly finish the War on that

A. D. 1464. side so soon as he expected, he march'd with a strong Detachment and some Cannon into the Dutchy of *Berry*, towards *Yssoudon*, *Viarron*, *Dreux*, and other Neighbouring Towns, leaving the King of *Sicily* and the Count *du Maine* with a good Body of Troops to defend and guard the Passes, and to hinder the *Bretons* from penetrating either into *Normandy*, or into any other Part of his Kingdom.

THE King made but a short stay in the Dutchy of *Berry*, and from thence he march'd into *Bourbonnois*, leaving the City of *Bourges* behind him, in which there was a strong Garrison commanded by Monsieur the Duke of *Bourbon's* Bastard, who held it for the Duke of *Berry*, he march'd into *Bourbonnois*, where the Town and Castle of *St. Amant Lalier* were taken by Storm on the Day of our Lord's Ascension, and a little after the Town and Castle of *Molucou* surrender'd upon Articles of Capitulation, in which were *James de Bourbon* with about thirty five Lances, who took an Oath never to bear Arms against the King again, upon which they were suffer'd to march out without being plunder'd, and had the Liberty of going where they pleas'd.

UPON *Ascension-Eve* the Chancellor *Traynel*, *M. Estienne*, Knight, *Nicholas de Louviers*, and *M. John de Molins* arriv'd at *Paris*, by whom the King wrote to his good People and Citizens of that Place, thanking them for their good Inclinations and Loyalty to him, exhorting them to continue firm and stedfast in their Allegiance, and commanding them to conduct the Queen safe to *Paris*, where he would have her lie in, as loving that City above any in his Kingdom.

ON *Thursday* the 30th of *May* in 1465. it A. D. 1465.  
 happen'd that one *John de Hure* Merchant of  
 the City of *Sens* came with his Nephew and  
 some other Company to lodge in a Mill, which  
 was call'd the *Little Mill*, on the other side of  
*Moret* in *Gastinois*, and about Midnight thirty  
 or forty Horse well arm'd came and beat up  
 their Quarters, plunder'd them of all they had,  
 and carry'd away the Merchant and his whole  
 Company Prisoners. At the same time the  
 King orderd the Bridges of *Chamois* and *Beau-*  
*mont* on the *Oise*, with several others to be  
 broken down.

ABOUT that time the Bastard of *Burgundy*  
 and the Marshal of *Burgundy*, with a conside-  
 rable Body of the Count de *Charolois's* Forces,  
 invaded the King's Dominions, and took from  
 him the Towns of *Roye* and *Montdidier*. Upon  
 which the Count de *Nevers* and *Joachim Rouault*  
 Marshal of *France*, who were in *Peronne* with a  
 Garrison of about four thousand Men, retir'd  
 with part of them to *Noyon* and *Compeigne*, leaving  
 some of the Nobility with about five Hundred  
 Frank Archers in *Peronne* for its Defence.

AT the same time the King, who was then  
 in *Bourbonnois*, left that Country and retir'd to  
*St. Pourcain*, whither his Sister the Dutcheß of  
*Bourbon* and *Auvergne* came also to wait on him,  
 being extremely concern'd at the Difference  
 that there was between the King her Brother  
 and her Husband the Duke of *Bourbon*, and  
 hoped by that means to have accommodated  
 Matters between them, but it was not in her  
 Power to do it: In the mean time however,  
 the Duke of *Bourbon* evacuated *Molins*, and re-  
 tir'd to *Rion*.

ABOUT



A. D. 1465. ABOUT this time came Orders for the besieging of *St. Maurice*, which the Count *de Dampmartin* obstinately held against the King. *M. Charles de Meleun* Bailiff of *Sens*, with several others of the same Corporation, had the Direction of that Siege, but finding the Body of Men that were under their Command too weak for such an Undertaking, *M. Anthony* Bailiff of *Meleun* was order'd thither with a strong Reinforcement of Archers and Cross-Bow-Men from *Paris*, and upon the Arrival of these Forces *St. Maurice* beat the Chamade, and surrender'd the Town upon Articles of Capitulation.

ON the 25th of *June* it was order'd by the Magistrates of *Paris* assembled in the Town-House, that the Streets should be unchain'd; but that the Iron-Chains should still remain hanging at the Corner of every Street to which they belong'd; in order to have them in a readiness upon any Occasion, that Persons should be deputed to examine in what Condition they were in; and if they wanted mending to get them instantly repair'd, and keep them always fit for Service; which was accordingly done. There was also another Order issu'd out, by which every Citizen was oblig'd to take Arms, and to lay in a stock of Provision and Ammunition for the Defence of the City in case of Need; and this Order was sent in Writing to every particular Housekeeper in *Paris*.

T WAS much about this time that a great Body of *Burgundians*, *Picardians*, and of other Nations subject to the Count *de Charolois*, march'd into *France* as far as *Pont St. Maxence*, which one *Madre*, who was the Governor of it,

it, deliver'd up to the Count *de Charolois* for a certain Sum of Money : Upon which he advanc'd with his Army into the Isle of *France*, where he committed great Ravages and Devastations, notwithstanding he pretended this War was undertaken purely for the Publick Good, and to free the Subjects of *France* from the Tyranny of their King.

A. D.  
1465.

SOON after this Business of *Pont St. Maxence* the *Burgundians* took *Beaulieu*, which a Party of the Marshal *Joachim's* own Regiment had a long time defended, and held out against them; who at last surrender'd upon Articles, and march'd out with Bag and Baggage, and the usual Marks of Honour.

AND as soon as the *Burgundians* had enter'd the Isle of *France*, they dispers'd themselves in small Bodies all over the County, and took *Dampmartin*, *Nantouillet*, *Villemonble*, and several other inconsiderable Places, and afterwards at *Laigny* they committed great Disorders and Outrages, tearing and burning all the Papers relating to the Publick Accounts of the Province, ordering that all Commodities should be free from Taxes in the Town, and commanding the Salt which was stor'd up in the Publick Granaries for the King's Use, to be given to whomsoever had Occasion of it upon paying Custom for it.

ABOUT this time the King who was in *Bourbonnois* laid Siege to *Rion* in *Auvergne*, in which were the Dukes of *Bourbon* and *Nemours*, the Count *d'Armaignac*, the Lord *Albret*, and several other Persons of Note. The King had, at that time when he invested the Town, the finest Army that ever was seen; having in all, including the Nobility, and Persons of Note and Distin-

A. D. Distinction, above twenty four thousand effective Men of regular Troops.

1465.

AND ON *Wednesday* the 4th of *July* in the same Year the King, who was still before *Rion*, wrote Letters to M. *Charles Meleun* his Lieutenant of *Paris*, the Marshal *Joachim*, and the Citizens of *Paris*, which he sent by M. *Charles de Charlay* the Captain of the Watch; and in these Letters he heartily thank'd his good Citizens of *Paris* for their Steadfastness and Loyalty to his Person, desiring and exhorting them to continue in their Duty and Allegiance, and assuring them that within fifteen Days he would be at *Paris* with his whole Army. He also order'd the said *Charles de Charlay* to acquaint them by Word of Mouth of certain Terms and Articles of Agreement that he had made with the Dukes of *Bourbon* and *Nemours*, and the Lords d'*Armaignac* and *Albret*, and how by the Compact all and every one of 'em had solemnly and sincerely promis'd henceforth never to bear Arms against him, but to live and die in his Service; and that the said Dukes and Lords above-mention'd had faithfully promis'd to do their Duty, in endeavouring to persuade the other Lords that were engag'd in the Confederacy to accept of the same Terms of Accommodation; and that the four above-mention'd Lords had agreed to send before the Feast of *August* their Ambassadors to the King at *Paris* in order to treat of Peace; and that if they could not induce the other Lords engag'd in the same Confederacy to hearken to a Peace, they had solemnly vow'd and sworn to keep the Promise they had made of never bearing Arms against the King, but to live and die in Defence of him and his Kingdom.

And



And that as a farther Confirmation of this A. D. Promise, the above-mention'd Lords had caus'd 1465. it to be register'd by two Publick Notaries at *Mossiat* near *Ryon*, agreeing and consenting to be excommunicated; provided they, or either of 'em, should act to the contrary.

ON the *Friday* following a large Body of the *Count de Charolois's* Forces, the greatest part of them *Burgundians*, arriv'd at *St. Dennis*, from whence they sent a Detachment to *Pont S. Clou*, in hopes of making themselves Masters of it, but not being able to effect their Project, they march'd back to *St. Dennis*.

ON *Sunday* the 12th of *July*, 1465. the *Burgundians* appear'd before *Paris*, but finding they could not carry their Point, they retir'd to *St. Dennis* with the loss of a few Men, who were endeavouring to scale the Walls.

ON *Monday* the 8th of *August* the *Burgundians* came a second time before *Paris* with all their Artillery and heavy Cannon, but before their Army appear'd in sight of the Town, they sent four Heralds to the Gate of *St. Dennis*, at which *M. Peter l'Orfeure*, Lord *Dermenonville*, and *M. John de Pompaincourt* Lord of *Cercelles* commanded as Captains of the Guard that Day. Their pretended Message was to demand Provision for their Army, and a free Admittance into *Paris* in a peaceful and friendly Manner; and to let the Citizens know, that if they refus'd to grant their Demands, they would enter the Town by Force, and give it up to be plunder'd by their Soldiers.

SCARCE had the four Heralds deliver'd their Message; when the *Burgundians*, (who thought to have surpris'd the Town, and cut in pieces the Guard that defended the Gate of *St. Dennis*, without

A. D. without giving the Citizens time to return an  
 1465. Answer; appear'd with a considerable Body of  
 Forces, and penetrating as far as St. *Ladre*,  
 were in hopes of getting within the Barriers  
 that led to that Gate, which they design'd to  
 have forc'd with their Cannon and other War-  
 like Engines: But the Citizens made a vigo-  
 rous Resistance, and the Marshal *Foachim* with  
 his own Regiment gave them a very warm Re-  
 ception; so that the *Burgundians* finding that  
 they could not succeed in their Design, retir'd  
 to their Camp with the loss of abundance of  
 Men kill'd and wounded. Immediately their  
 whole Army invested the Town, in which  
 they did great Execution with their Cannon,  
 Culverins, and other Warlike Engines, and  
 kill'd and wounded a great many Men. During  
 this Bombardment, there was a cowardly Ras-  
 cal of a Bailiff nam'd *Casin Chollet*, that ran up  
 and down the Streets like one frighted out of  
 his Wits, crying out, *Get you into your Houses, O*  
*Parisians, and shut the Doors, for the Burgundians*  
*are enter'd the Town*; which put the Inhabitants  
 into so dreadful a Consternation, that several  
 Women with Child miscarry'd, and others died  
 of the Fright.

NO Action happen'd before *Paris* on the  
*Tuesday* following, only the Count de *St. Paul*  
 who was at *St. Dennis* with the Count de *Charo-*  
*lois*, march'd from thence with a Detachment  
 of *Picardians* and *Burgundians*, in order to pos-  
 sess himself of *Pont St. Clou*, but the Project  
 fail'd that time. And on the *Wednesday* follow-  
 ing there arriv'd in his Camp a fine Train of  
 Artillery, consisting of about fifty or sixty  
 Pieces of Cannon, which the Count de *Charo-*  
*lois* had order'd to be sent him; And on the  
 same

same Day a Brigade of M. *Peter de Breze's* Regiment march'd out of *Paris* to intercept the *Burgundians* in their March to *St. Clou*, two of which they kill'd, and took five Prisoners; one of which receiv'd so terrible a Blow as clove his Head asunder, and the fore part of it hung down by a bit of Skin upon his Breast. The *Burgundians* also took an Archer, Servant to M. *John Noyer* of the same Regiment; and in the Evening they made a vigorous Attack upon *St. Clou*, and storming the Outworks, put the Garrison who held it for the King into such a Consternation, that they agreed to capitulate, and surrender'd the Town immediately upon Condition to be safely conducted to *Paris*, and to deliver up the five *Burgundians* they had taken that Day; and for Performance of Articles Hostages were exchange'd on both sides.

A. D.

1465.

ON the Friday following the Magistrates of *Paris* held a great Council in the Town-House to advise and consider what Answer they should return to the *Burgundians*, who requir'd of them to send some Commissioners to treat with the Count *de Charolois*, who would privately inform them by Word of Mouth, of the Reasons that had induc'd him to take up Arms against the King. At last, after some Debate, they resolv'd to acquaint the Count *de Charolois* with their Resolution of sending some Commissioners, (provided he would send them a Passport to *Paris*) to treat with him, and to hear what Propositions he had to make; letting him know at the same time that they would communicate whatever he had to offer, either to the King who was at *Orleans*, or to his Privy Council at *Paris*; who might return what Answer they thought most proper in the present



A. D. present Posture of Affairs. The same Day  
 1465. about six in the Evening two Heralds from the  
 Count *de Charolois* came to the Gate of St. *Hon-*  
*nore* for the Answer you have already heard,  
 who were told, that if the Count *de Charolois*  
 would be pleas'd to come any where near *Paris*,  
 and send a Passport, that Commissioners should  
 be sent to wait on him, but nothing farther  
 could be granted. After this they desir'd leave  
 to buy some Paper and Parchment, which was  
 granted them; but were denied Sugar, and  
 other things that they wanted in their Camp,  
 for their Sick and Wounded; so that they  
 were forc'd to return without these Commo-  
 dities, which they took very ill of the *Parisians*.

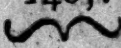
ON Sunday the 14th of July, 1465. early in  
 the Morning arriv'd at *Paris* the Count *de la*  
*Borde* and M. *Cousinot*, who brought Letters  
 from the King to his good Citizens of *Paris*,  
 in which the King, as he had done before,  
 thank'd them for their Zeal and Affection to  
 his Person, and for their brave Resistance and  
 Defence of his Capital against the *Burgundians*,  
 desiring them withal to depend upon whatever  
 the said *de la Borde* and *Cousinot* should tell them  
 in his Name, the Substance of which was,  
 that the King thank'd 'em heartily for their  
 Loyalty and good Affection towards him,  
 desir'd them to continue firm and stedfast in it,  
 and that they might depend on his being at *Paris*  
 (as a Place he desir'd the most to be in) the  
*Tuesday* following; and that he had rather lose  
 half his Kingdom, than any Misfortune or In-  
 conveniency, that was in his Power to pre-  
 vent, should happen to his good Citizens of  
*Paris*; whom he desir'd by the said *Cousinot* to  
 provide Lodgings and Quarters for his Men at  
 Arms,

Arms, and the Retinue that he should bring with him, and to set a reasonable Price on all manner of Provision; to which M. Henry de Liure the Mayor of Paris immediately consented, and took all the Care imaginable to see it done.

Al D.

1475.

On the Monday following the Burgundians broke up from St. Clou, and march'd with all their Artillery and heavy Cannon to Mond l'Hery, where they encamp'd, in order to join the Dukes of Berry and Bretagne, the Count de Dunois, and several others that were coming in to the Count de Charolois. The News of this Movement was immediately dispatch'd to the King, who was on this side Orleans on his March towards Paris, and who in all haste by long and tedious Marches on Tuesday Morning the 6th of July arriv'd at Chastres near Mond l'Hery; from whence, without staying so much as to refresh himself, or to wait for the coming up of his whole Army, which was compos'd of the finest Horse, (considering their Number) that ever were seen, he march'd directly towards the Burgundians, whom he attack'd with so much Vigour and Intrepidity, (though but with a handful of Men,) that at the first Charge he broke and entirely defeated their Vanguard, of which a great Number were kill'd and taken Prisoners. As soon as the News of this Defeat had reach'd Paris, above thirty Thousand sallied out of the Gates, some of which being Horse, scowr'd the Country round, defeating and taking several small Bodies of the flying Burgundians, as did also the Inhabitants of the neighbouring Towns round Paris. The Burgundians lost in this Action great part of their Bag and Baggage; and the whole Damage

A. D. 1465.  mage they they sustain'd, reckoning every thing, was computed to amount to two hundred thousand Crowns of Gold. The King not being content with defeating the Enemies Vanguard, and hoping to gain a compleat Victory over them, without refreshing either himself or his Troops, once more attack'd, with only his own Guards and four hundred Lances, a strong Party of *Burgundians* who had rallied under the Command of the Count de St. Paul, who did the Count de Charolis good Service that Day. The *Burgundians* gave the King's Troops a warm Reception, and being drawn up in Order of Battle, with their Cannon playing upon them, sorely gall'd them, and kill'd abundance of them, among whom were several Officers of the King's own Guard, who behav'd themselves handsomly during the whole Action, and stood firmly by the King, who was hard put to it that Day, and several times in Danger of his own Person; for he had but a handful of Men and no Cannon. The King was press'd so hard by the *Burgundians*, that he knew not which way to turn himself, and was forc'd to charge at the Head of his Troops during this Engagement; and though he had but a small Body with him, yet he still maintain'd his Ground; and if he had had a Reinforcement but of five hundred frank Archers to have push'd the *Burgundians* when they began to give way, he would have gain'd the compleatest Victory over them that ever was known in the Memory of Man. The Count de Charolois lost all his Guards, and the King a great part of his; the Count de Charolois was twice taken Prisoner by Jeffery de St. Belin and Gilbert de Grassay, but was afterwards rescu'd.

Abun-



Abundance of Men and Horses were kill'd that Day, the greatest part of which were kill'd by the rascally *Burgundian* Foot, with their Pikes and other Weapons ript with Iron, and not a few Men of Note fell on both Sides. And after the Battle was over, the Number of the Slain was computed at three thousand six hundred Men; and towards Night the *Scotch* Guards considering the Danger the King was in, and the great Loss they had sustain'd, and finding that the *Burgundians* were still pursuing those Squadrons they had already broken; took his Majesty, who had been in Arms all Day, without eating and drinking, and much fatigued and dispirited, and conducted him safe to the Castle of *Mont l'Hery*: which was the Reason that several in the Army, who knew nothing of the King's removing thither, and not knowing where to find him, reported he was either kill'd or taken Prisoner: Upon the News of which the greatest part of his Army ran away, and amongst the rest the Count *du Maine*, the Admiral *de Montaulban*, the Lord *de la Barde*, and several other Officers, with about eight hundred Lances, without ever being engag'd at all that Day; by which means the *Burgundians* remain'd Masters of the Field of Battle, on which were found amongst the Slain several Persons of Quality and Distinction on the King's Side; to wit, M. *Peter de Brezè*, Knight and Seneschal of *Normandy*, *Jeffery de St. Belin* Bailiff of *Chaumont*, *Floquet* Bailiff of *Eureux*, besides several other Knights and Esquires. The *Burgundians* also lost abundance of Men, and had more taken Prisoners, than they took of the King's Army. After the King had refresh'd himself a little at the Castle of *Mont*

A. D.  
1465.

A. D. 1465. *l'Hery*, he march'd with a strong Detachment of his Forces to *Corbeil*, where he staid till the *Thursday* following, on which he arriv'd very late in the Evening at *Paris*, and supp'd that Night at M. *Charles de Meleun's* his Lieutenant-General, with several Lords and Ladies of his Court, besides several of the Chief Citizens and their Wives; to whom his Majesty related the Particulars of the Action at *Mont l'Hery* in such moving and patherick Terms, as drew Tears from the Eyes of the whole Company; adding withal, that he design'd by the Blessing of God to attack the Enemy once more on the *Monday* following, and either die on the spot, or drive them out of his Dominions: but he was advis'd not to hazard another Battle, considering the Cowardise and Desertion of his Troops, that would not stand by him in the late Engagement. However, 'twas to no purpose, for he was a Prince of an undaunted Courage and Resolution.

ON *Friday* the 19th of *July*, 1465. M. *William Chartier* Bishop of *Paris*, with several Counsellors and Clergymen, went to wait on the King at his *Hôtel des Tournelles*, and humbly besought his Majesty that he would be pleas'd to make choice of some wise and prudent Council to aid and assist him in the Administration of publick Affairs for the future, to which he graciously consented; and immediately it was order'd, that six City-Counsellors, six Counsellors of the Court of Parliament, and six Doctors of the University of *Paris*, should be added to the King's ordinary Council. And because the King found he had many Enemies in his Kingdom, they went upon Ways and Means to raise more Forces, and recruit those

those Regiments that had suffer'd most in A. D. the late Action of *Mont T'Her*; in order to try how many Men they could raise in *Paris*, 'twas propos'd that the Number of the Inhabitants of every Ward should be taken in Writing, and that each of 'em should furnish ten Men, but there was nothing done in it. 1465.

UPON the King's Arrival at *Paris*, abundance of his Troops were forc'd to be quarter'd in the Villages round that City, *Brie*, and other neighbouring Places, where they committed great Disorders; not being content with eating and drinking on free Cost, but also plundering the Inhabitants of all they had; and seizing upon whatever they could find, though belonging to some of the Citizens of *Paris*. Nay, the King himself was under some Difficulties of raising a sufficient Sum of Money to pay those Forces he had in *Paris*, for some of the Princes that had taken up Arms against him, were in Possession of those very Towns on which the Taxes assign'd for that Use, were to be levy'd; and they refusing to let any be rais'd in their Dominions, he was forc'd to borrow Money of his Officers and wealthy Citizens of *Paris*, some of which upon their Refusal to lend him as much as he propos'd, were immediately put out of all their Posts and Employments both Military and Civil, among the rest, M. *John Cheneteau* Clerk in Parliament, M. *Martin Picard* Counsellor of the Exchequer, and several others.

ON *Wednesday* the 24th of *July*, 1465. the King order'd the Bridge of *St. Maxence* to be broken down upon Intelligence that the Lord *de Saverues* was marching with a great Body of Forces in order to beat out the King's Troops,



A. D. 1465. and put a Garrison of his own into it. On the same Day his Majesty gave the Command of it to *John l'Orfeure*, who was the Governor of it, and charg'd him to defend it to the last extremity, which he did with so much Bravery and Resolution, that there was no occasion to break down the said Bridge: And on the Friday following the King order'd that two hundred Lances under the Command of the Bastard d'*Armaignac*, Count de *Comminges*, the Sieur *Giles de Symon* Bailiff of *Senlis*, the Sieur de la *Barde*, and *Charles des Mares*, should stay at *Paris*, and on the same Day at the Desire and Request of the Mayor of *Paris* and some Church-Men, his Majesty continu'd M. *Charles de Meleun* in his former Post of Lieutenant of the City.

AFTER the Battle of *Mont l'Hery* the Lords and Princes that were engag'd in the Confederacy against the King retir'd to *Estampes*; where they staid for the space of fifteen Days, and upon their breaking up from thence, they march'd towards St. *Mathurin de l'Archant*, *Moret* in *Gastinois*, *Provins*, and the Neighbourhood of those Countries; upon which the King having Intelligence of their Motions, throws small Bodies of Forces with some Cannon into *Meleun*, *Monstereau*, *Sens*, and other Neighbouring Towns, to reinforce the Garrisons, and make frequent Sallies whenever they had an Opportunity of falling upon the Enemy.

ON Saturday the third of *August*, 1465. the King being willing to oblige his good City of *Paris* by some singular Act of Grace and Favour, chang'd the Tax of the fourth Penny on retail'd Wines to that of the eighth, and granted to all the Inhabitants the same Privileges they

they enjoy'd in the Reign of his Father A. D. Charles VII. He also took off all the Taxes <sup>1465.</sup> that had formerly been levy'd in the City, except those on Wood, Cattle and Cloth sold by Wholesale, which were let out to the Farmers of the Revenue : And on the same Day it was proclaim'd by sound of Trumpet in all the publick Streets of *Paris* by *Denis Hesselin*, Chief Collector of the Subsidies ; upon the News of which the Common People were so over-joy'd, that they flock'd together from all Parts of the City, and fill'd the Streets with Bonfires and Acclamations of Joy.

ABOUT this time the *Bretons* and *Burgundians* pass'd the *Seine* and the *Tonne* upon a Bridge of Boats which were brought from *Moret* in *Gastinois* and other Places. M. *Salezart* with a Brigade of Marshal *Joachim's* Regiment had posted himself on the other side to dispute the Passage with them, but finding himself too weak, and having no Cannon, (of which the Enemy had great Store) he thought fit to retire upon their Approach. The *Burgundians*, to favour the Passage of their Troops, canonaded the Enemy all the while, and kill'd abundance of the King's Men, at last a random Shot took off a Page's Arm, struck a Gentleman nam'd *Pamabel*, a Relation of Marshal *Joachim's*, in the Belly, and kill'd three Soldiers afterwards.

ON *Thursday* the 8th of *August*, the Lord de *Preigny* one of the King's Counsellors and President of the Exchequer, and *Chrystofle Paillart* a Counsellor also of the same Court arriv'd at *Paris* with an Answer to some Letters that the King had sent by them to the Duke of *Calabria* who was then in *Auxerrois* : And on *Saturday*

A. D. 1465. the 10th of the same Month the King set out from *Paris* in order to visit *Roan*, *Eureux*, and several other Places in *Normandy*, and lay that Night at *Ponthoife*; but before he left *Paris*, he order'd several Companies of Frank Archers that were newly arriv'd from *Normandy*, and about four hundred Lances drawn out of the Regiments of the late *Floquet*, of the *Boulonnois*, of the late *Jeffery de St. Belin*, of the Lord *de Craon*, and the Lord *de la Barde*, to remain in Garrison for the Defence of the City.

ABOUT this Time M. *John Berard* Counsellor of the Court of Parliament went over to the Duke of *Berry* who was then in *Bretagne*, being highly disgusted at his Wife's being committed to Prison, and afterwards banish'd the City for holding Correspondence with the said Duke and the rest of the Princes, who were the King's open and profess'd Enemies.

ABOUT this Time M. *Charles de Meleun*, who had hitherto been the King's Lieutenant of *Paris*, resign'd his Place; which was immediately given to the Count *d'Eu*, but the King in Consideration of the many Services M. *Charles de Meleun* had done, made him Steward of his Household, and gave him the Government of the Baliwick and Towns of *Eureux* and *Honnesteur*.

ABOUT this Time also a Party of *Burgundians* and *Bretons* who had been refreshing themselves in the Town of *Provins*, return'd to *Laigny* upon the *Marne*; and the Friday following they came and took up their Quarters at *Creteil* a House upon the *Seine*, *Cheelle Sainte*, *Bapteur*, and several other Places in that Neighbourhood. And because the *Parisians* were fearful that the *Burgundians* would once more invest



invest *Paris*, there being a Report that M. *Ge-* A. D.  
*rauld* their chief Engineer had given out that 1465.  
he design'd to erect a Battery in the Lay-stall before the Gates of *St. Dennis* and *St. Anthony*, in order to bombard the Town, and at the same time to make a Breach in the Walls; they caus'd an Order to be immediately publish'd by which every one was oblig'd to repair the next Morning to the Lay-stall with a Pick-ax and Shovel, to break it up, and render it unfit to erect a Battery on; and accordingly the Order was put in Execution, but what they did signified little or nothing; so that they were forc'd to build a great many Sheds, erect Bulwarks, and throw up Trenches to cover and defend the City, as also the Soldiers employ'd in its Defence.

ON the *Monday* following the same Party of *Burgundians* and *Bretons* that were quarter'd at *Creteil* and thereabouts, being joyn'd by some more Forces of their own Country, came to *Pont de Charenton*, where they erected a Battery; and began to play upon the Tower that defended it, upon which the Garrison, without making the least Opposition, retir'd to *Paris*; and the *Burgundians* and *Bretons* took Possession of it: and in the Evening on the same Day they appear'd before *Paris*, in which several of them were taken Prisoners, and two of the Frank Archers of *Caen* kill'd. And that Night a Body of *Burgundians* and *Bretons* amounting to about four thousand Men, came and encamp'd in a Park belonging to *Bois de Vincennes*. The *Tuesday* following the Count *d'Eu* sent one M. *de Rambures* to the Princes to know their Intentions, and the next Day he return'd to *Paris*; but the Answer they made him was kept very secret;

A. D. 1465. secret; and the same Day the *Burgundians* came before *Paris*, upon which the *Parisians* made a Sally, but scarce any Action happen'd between them, only one of the Frank Archers of *Alençon* happen'd to be kill'd by a random Shot.

ON *Thursday* the 22d of *August* the Duke of *Berry*, who had taken up his head Quarters at *Beaulce* with several other Princes near ally'd to him, sent his Heralds with four Letters to *Paris*; one to the Citizens, one to the University, one to the Ecclesiasticks, and one to the Court of Parliament. The Contents of which were in short, that he and the rest of the Princes engag'd in the same Confederacy had taken up Arms for the publick Good of the Kingdom; and that if they would make choice of five or six able Men with the Character of Commissioners to treat and confer with them, he would let them know the Reasons that had induc'd him and the rest of the Princes to appear in this open and hostile manner. Accordingly, in pursuance of these Letters, the following Commissioners were deputed to wait on the Princes to hear what they had to propose. On the Part of the City were chosen M. *John Choart* the Civil Lieutenant of the *Chastellet* of *Paris*, M. *Francis Hasle* Advocate in Parliament, and *Arnold Lullier* Banker of *Paris*. The Church of *Paris* made Choice of M. *Thomas de Courcelles* Dean of *Paris*, M. *John de Lolive* Dr. of Divinity, and M. *Eustace Lullier* Advocate in Parliament. For the Court of Parliament were chosen M. *John de Boulengier*, M. *John le Sellier* Archdeacon of *Brie*, and M. *James Fournier*. And by the University for the Sciences in general were chosen M. *James Minglisant*, for Divinity M. *John Lullier*, for the Law M. *John Montigny*.

*Montigny*, and for Physick M. *Auerant de Parenti*; A. D. and all these Commissioners were introduc'd 1465, and presented to the Princes by *William Chartier* Bishop of *Paris*.

ON *Saturday* following all the above-mention'd Commissioners sat in the Town-House, where several Persons of Quality and Distinction were assembled on purpose to hear what Proposals the Princes had made them; but they came to no manner of Conclusion that Morning; however it was agreed that in the Afternoon the whole Body of the University, Church, Court of Parliament, and the Chief Magistrates should meet together to take into Consideration what the Princes had propos'd to the Commissioners. At this Meeting after some Debate they unanimously agreed, that the calling an Assembly of the three Estates of the Kingdom, which was the chief thing the Princes insisted on, was highly just and reasonable; that they would consent to supply their Army with Provisions for Money, and that they should have free Admittance into *Paris*, provided they could give them any Security, that neither they nor their Soldiers would commit any Act of Hostility within the Town to the Prejudice of the Inhabitants, and the King consented to it. After which the Commissioners went a second time to wait on the Princes, and acquaint them with their final Resolution. During the whole time that this Assembly were sitting in Council, all the Cross-Bow-Men and Archers were drawn up before the Town-Hall to hinder the Mobb from crowding and disturbing them, as they would certainly have done, had they not been prevented by this means.

ON



A. D. 1465.  ON the same Day there was a Review made of all the King's Forces in *Paris*; which made a very fine Appearance. First of all march'd the Archers of *Normandy* on Foot; these were follow'd by the Archers on Horseback; and last of all came the Men at Arms belonging to the Companies of the Count *d'En*, the Lord *de Craon*, the Lord *de la Barde*, and the Bastard of *Maine*, which might make in all about five hundred Men, well arm'd and mounted, without reckoning the Foot, which were about fifteen hundred or better. And on the same Day the King wrote Letters to *Paris*, by which he acquainted the Inhabitants of his being at *Chartres* with his Uncle the Duke *du Maine*, and abundance of Soldiers with him, and of his Resolution of coming to *Paris* on the *Tuesday* following. In the Afternoon the Admiral *de Montauban* arriv'd at *Paris* with a good Body of Troops, and towards the Evening the Duke of *Berry* broke up from *Beaulce*, and march'd towards *St. Dennis*; but being told by some of his Officers that were with him, that *Beaulce* was a much safer Place for him to be in than *St. Dennis*, which lay too near the Enemy; and upon hearing the News of the King's coming to *Paris*, he march'd back to his old Quarters.

ON the *Wednesday* following the King came to *Paris*, attended by his Uncle the Duke *du Maine*, the Lord *de Pantbeure*, and several other Officers of Note; he also brought back the fine Train of Artillery he carry'd with him, and a great Number of Pioneers from *Normandy*, which were all quarter'd in his *Hôtel de St. Paul*. And when the King made his Entry into *Paris* he was receiv'd with the universal Shouts and Acclamations of the People, and the

the next Day very early in the Morning the *Burgundians* and the *Bretons* planting themselves over against the Tower of *Billy*, saluted him with a triple Discharge of their Cannon, accompany'd with Drums, Trumpets, Clarions, and other Warlike Instruments of Musick. The same thing they did also over against the *Bastille St. Anthoine*, shouting and huzzaing, and crying out, *to Arms, to Arms*, which put the whole City into a dreadful Consternation, and immediately they mounted the Walls, and prepar'd all things for a vigorous Defence. In the Afternoon the *Burgundians* and *Bretons* appear'd again before *Paris*; upon which a considerable Body of the King's regular Forces with some Cannon and Field-pieces, were immediately order'd to march out of *Paris* to beat off the Enemy, who falling in with a Party of them, kill'd and took several Prisoners that Day.

ON *Saturday* the last of *August* the King went with a strong Guard as far the Tower of *Billy*, to take a View of the Enemy, and commanded the four hundred Pioneers that came from *Normandy* to cross the *Seine*, and throw up a Trench over against the *English* Port, and before the *Hôtel de Conflans*, which was directly opposite to the Place where the *Burgundians* were posted, quite down to the River *Seine*. And because the *Burgundians* had given out that they design'd to pass that River, the King order'd a good Body of Troops to be posted there, to hinder them from laying a Bridge over it, and to dispute the Passage with them; and as soon as the Pioneers had pass'd the River, the King pass'd it also in a Ferry-Boat without alighting from his Horse.

A. D. 1465. *ON Sunday the first of September the Burgundians laid a Bridge over the Seine at the English Port, and just as they were preparing to pass it, a great Number of Frank-Archers and other Soldiers of the King's Party arriv'd there, who immediately planting some Cannon and Field-pieces at the end of the Bridge, fir'd briskly on the Burgundians, and oblig'd them to retire with the Loss of several Men kill'd and wounded; and a certain Norman swam a-cross the River, and cutting the Ropes with which the Bridge was fasten'd, it went cleverly down the Stream. Abundance of Cannon was fir'd that Day from several Batteries that the Burgundians had erected; but from one especially, which play'd so briskly on the King's Troops that were posted at the English Port, that they were forc'd to retire.*

AND on the *Tuesday* following Ambassadors were chosen by the King and the *Burgundians*, in order to adjust the Difference between 'em. On the King's side were chosen the Duke *du Maine*, *M. de Pretigny* President of the Exchequer, and *M. John Dauvet* President of the Parliament of *Tholouse*; and the *Burgundians* chose the Duke of *Calabria*, the Count *de St. Paul*, and Count *de Dunois*. And as soon as they were nominated, and had receiv'd their Instructions, they went immediately upon the Business of Accommodation; and there was a Truce granted till the *Thursday* following, during which no Acts of Hostility were committed on either side; but both Parties took Care in the mean time to fortifie themselves, and make what Preparations they could, not knowing how Matters might happen.



ON Monday the 9th of September the Bretons A. D. 1465. and Burgundians march'd into the Territories of Clingencourt, Montmatre, la Courtille, and other Vineyards about Paris, where they spoil'd and destroy'd the whole Vintage, cutting down all the Grapes green as they were, to make Wine for present Drinking; upon which the Parisians were forc'd to do the same with all their Vineyards round Paris that had escap'd their Fury, though the Grapes were scarce half ripe, and 'twas not the usual Season for their Vintage, besides it was the worst Year for Vines that had been known in France for many Years; so that they call'd the Wine of this Year's Growth by the Name of *Burgundy*.

ABOUT this time several of the Nobility of Normandy arriv'd at Paris to serve the King in his Wars, all which had their Quarters assign'd them in the *Faux-bourg de St. Marcel*, amongst whose Retinue there were some particular Persons that committed great Thefts and Disorders; two of which were seiz'd by some of the Citizens as they were forcing their Way into the City, and upon the Citizens stopping them, the Normans began to abuse and rail at the Citizens, calling them Traitors and rebellious Burgundians, vowing to be reveng'd of them, and telling them that they came from Normandy with no other Design but to plunder and destroy the whole City. Of which Words a Complaint being made, and an Information given by the said Citizens to the Mayor of Paris; the principal Offender, who spoke these dangerous Words, was condemn'd to the ignominious Punishment of walking bare-foot and bare-headed, with a lighted Torch in his Hand, through the Streets; and in the Publick Market-

A. D. 1465. ker-place before the Town-House in this shameful Condition, to acknowledge his Offence before the Town-Clerk, and to ask the good Citizens of *Paris* Pardon and Forgiveness for what he had falsely and maliciously spoken, and afterwards to be bor'd through the Tongue and banish'd the City.

ON the *Monday* following the *Burgundians* came and shew'd themselves before *Paris*, amongst whom was the Count *de St. Paul*, to meet whom the King went out of *Paris*, and had a Conference together, which lasted two Hours, and as a Surety for the Count's safe Return, the King deliver'd up the Count *du Maine*, who staid in the *Burgundian* Army till the Return of the said Count *de St. Paul*.

AND on the same Day a great Council was held in the Exchequer-Chamber, at which amongst the other Officers and Magistrates of of that Court, the sixteen (a) *Quarteniers*, the (b) *Cinquanteniers*, and some of the Counsellors belonging to the Court of Parliament, were present; to whom by the King's Order *Morvillier* Chancellor of *France* made a Speech, in which he acquainted them how honourably his Majesty had acquitted himself towards the Princes; and what generous Offers he had made them upon their demanding the Dutchy of *Guinne*, *Poictou*, with the Country of *Xaintoigne*, or the Dutchy of *Normandy*, as an Appennage for the Duke of *Berry*. He farther told them, that the King's Council who were there present

(a) Civil Officers, having the same Power and Authority in *Paris*, as an Alderman has in *London*, there being one to every Ward.

(b) Certain Officers or Magistrates in *Paris*; somewhat like our Aldermens Deputies in *London*.

present had inform'd the Princes that it was A. D. not in his Majesty's Power to give away or 1465. dismember any thing belonging to the Crown; and that since he was pleas'd to offer the Countries of *Champaigne* and *Brie*, reserving only to himself *Meaux*, *Monstereau* and *Meleun* in lieu of the said Appennage, they were of Opinion, that the Duke of *Berry* ought not in Reason and Honour to refuse it. After this, the Assembly broke up, and (all Hopes of an Accommodation being vanish'd,) the Young Seneschal of *Normandy* was order'd out with six hundred Horse to skirmish with the *Bretons* and *Burgundians*, who were drawn up in order of Battle on the other side of the *Seine*, and firing upon them, kill'd a Gentleman of *Poitou* belonging to M. *Pantbieu's* Regiment call'd *John Canreau*, Lord de *Pampelie*.

ON the *Saturday* following at break of Day, one *Lewis Sorbier*, whom Marshal *Foachim Rouault* had left in *Pontboise* as his Lieutenant, basely and treacherously betray'd his Trust; and suffer'd the *Bretons* and other Troops belonging to the Enemy, to possess themselves of the Town, having agreed with them before-hand, that whoever of the Marshal *Foachim's* Regiment refus'd to enter into their Service, should have the Liberty of marching out with their Bag and Baggage, without being examin'd or molested. And as soon as he had deliver'd up *Pontboise* into the Enemies Hands, he march'd with some of his Confederates to *Meulanc*; where, not believing that his Treason was already known, he thought that by shewing Marshal *Foachim's* Colours to have got an easie Admittance; but upon his Arrival at the Gates, the Inhabitants of *Meulanc*, who had been inform'd of his



A. D. 1465. Treachery and were in Arms upon the Walls, cry'd out, *Get you gone vile and despicable Traytor,* and fir'd their Cannon upon him and his Party, which oblig'd him to retire with the utmost Shame and Confusion to *Ponthoise*; and on Sunday by break of Day the Enemy came and gave the City an Alarm on the side of St. *Anthony's Gate*, and a great Body of 'em penetrated as far as St. *Anthoine des Champs*; and in order to dislodge them, several Cannon, Field-pieces and Culverins were fir'd, but there were no Sallies made.

ABOUT this time the *Bretons* and *Burgundians* who lay before *Paris* made Songs, Ballads, Lampoons, and other scandalous Verses on some of the chief Officers of the Court, which set the King so against them, that he turn'd them out of their Places. Neither did the King's own Soldiers, who were quarter'd in *Paris*, behave themselves much better; but spent their Time in all manner of Lewdness, debauching and seducing the Hearts of several Wives, Maids and Widows, who left their Children, Husbands, and Places, to follow and live with them.

IN the Evening M. *Balüe* Bishop of *Eureux* was set upon by some People that ow'd him a spite, in the Street *de la Barre du Bec*, who at the first stroke beat the two Torches that were carried before him out of the Servants Hands, and afterwards they came up to the Bishop, who being mounted on a stout Mule, carried him off cleverly to his own *Hôtel* in the Cloister of *Nostre Dame*; by which means he sav'd his Life, for his Servants who were afraid of being knock'd down, had quite forsaken him; however, before he made his Escape, he  
receiv'd

receiv'd two Wounds, one in his Head, and another in one of his Fingers. The King was extremely concern'd at this Accident, and order'd a strict Enquiry to be made after the Assassines, but they were never discover'd.

A. D.

1465.

ON the *Thursday* following there was a great Complaint made in the Town-House by some of the Citizens against the Soldiers, for having spoken and publish'd certain Words and Speeches of a dangerous Consequence to the Inhabitants. Among other things they boldly affirm'd, that neither the City of *Paris* nor any thing in it belong'd to the Inhabitants, but to them who were quarter'd in it; that they would have the Citizens know that the Keys of their Houses were at the Soldiers Disposal; that they would turn out the present Possessors and live in them themselves; and in short, if the Citizens pretended to make Resistance, they should find to their Sorrow they were able to conquer them. And the very same Day a foolish *Norman* said openly at *St. Dennis's Gate*, that the *Parisians* were very weak to think that chaining up their Streets would signifie any thing against the Forces of their Country. A Report of these dangerous and insolent Words being made to some of the Officers of the Town-House, they immediately issued out an Order, commanding several Streets to be chain'd up, and that every *Quartenier* of *Paris* should cause great Fires to be made in every Ward under his Jurisdiction, and that one of 'em should be in Arms upon the Watch before the Town-House all Night, which was accordingly done. And that very Night there was a hot Report that the Gate of the *Bastille St. Anthoine* was left open on purpose to let the *Bretons* and the

A. D. 1465. *Burgundians* into the Town; and to confirm it the more, several Cannon were found nail'd up, and render'd unfit for Service.

ON the *Friday* following Two Pursevents at Arms arriv'd at *Paris*; one was dispatch'd from *Gisors* to acquaint the King of the weak Condition of that Place, which was wholly unprovided with every thing necessary for its Defence, and to let his Majesty know, that if he did not send them a speedy Supply of Men, Arms, Ammunition and Provision, they must be forc'd to surrender to a Body of six hundred Horse that lay before the Town. The other Pursevant was sent by one *Hugh des Vignes* a Man at Arms belonging to M. *de la Barde's* Regiment, and who at that time was at *Meulanc*, to inform the King that he was assur'd from very good Hands, that the *Bretons* had a Design of surprizing *Roan* as they did *Ponthoife*, if they were not prevented. And on the same Day the Ambassadors that were chosen on both sides, din'd together at *St. Anthoine des Champs* without *Paris*; and on the next Day the said Ambassadors on both sides were assembled again, but in two distinct Parties, that is to say, the Duke *du Maine* and those of his Party who were for the King, with the rest of the Lords and Princes, were all of them together at the *Grange-aux-Merciers*. There were also several others nominated by the King, who were at *St. Anthoine des Champs*, but notwithstanding this Meeting, very little Business was dispatch'd this Day.

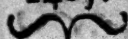
IN the Afternoon the King receiv'd Letters from the Widow of the late *Peter de Brezè*, by which she inform'd his Majesty of her having caus'd the Lord *Broquemont* Captain of the Palace at *Roan* to be apprehended, upon Suspicion

of



of not being well affected to his Government, A. D. 1465.  
and having a Design to deliver it up to the Bre-  
tons ; but that he should not give himself the  
least Pain about *Roan* for he would certainly  
find all the Citizens hearty and true to his In-  
terest. The same Day in the Afternoon arri-  
ved the unwelcome News of the taking of *Roan*  
by the Duke of *Bourbon*, who enter'd the  
Town by the Castle of *Roan*, which was the  
weakest Side, and lay towards the Fields.

AS soon as the Princes that lay before *Paris*  
heard of the taking of *Roan*, they sent to ac-  
quaint the King, that his Brother the Duke of  
*Berry*, who was before contented with *Cham-*  
*paigne* and *Brie*, would accept of no other Ap-  
pennage than the Dutchy of *Normandy*; so that  
the King was forc'd, notwithstanding the for-  
mer Agreement, to give the Duke of *Berry* the  
Dutchy of *Normandy*, and reserve for himself  
that of *Berry*. The Count de *Charolois* had for  
his Share the Towns of *Peronne*, *Roye* and *Mondi-*  
*dier*, for him and his Heirs for ever ; besides, the  
King gave him during his Life all the Lands  
and Towns that were lately redeem'd for four  
hundred thousand Crowns, and had been  
pawn'd to his Father *Philip* Duke of *Burgundy*,  
to which he added the Countries of *Guynes* and  
*Boulogne* to be enjoy'd by him and his Heirs for  
ever. He also gave to the Duke of *Calabria* a  
great Sum of Money, and lent him a certain  
Number of Troops which were to be paid by  
the King, and to be employ'd where-ever the  
Duke of *Calabria* thought fit. The Duke of  
*Bourbon* was to have the same Pension, and the  
same Quota of Troops allow'd him, that he  
formerly had in the Reign of the late King  
*Charles*, besides the Remainder of his Wife's

A. D. Marriage-Dower, which was left unpaid ; and 1465. this was all he demanded. The Count de St.  Paul was restor'd to all his Places that had been taken from him during this unhappy Rupture between the King and the Princes, and a considerable Pension settled upon him for Life. The Count de Dampmartin was also restor'd to all his Lands and Possessions that were confiscated by a Decree in Parliament, and had considerable Presents made him by the King. As for the other Lords, they had every one of 'em a large Share, and departed well satisfied with what they had got.

AND on Tuesday the first of October a Peace was proclaim'd between the King and the Princes ; and that Day the Count de St. Paul came to Paris, and having din'd with the King was conducted into the Town-House, where he was created Constable of France, and took the Oaths accordingly. And on the same Day the King order'd a Proclamation to be issued out, by which free Leave was granted to all the Inhabitants to supply and furnish the Bretons and Burgundians with whatever Necessaries they wanted ; upon which Proclamation several Merchants of Paris immediately sent a great quantity of all sorts of Provision into the Fields before St. Anthony's Gate, which was quickly bought up, especially the Wine and the Bread, by the whole Army, who instantly repair'd thither half-starv'd, and in a miserable Condition, with their thin lank Cheeks overgrown with Hair, and full of Lice and Nastiness ; and the greatest part of them without Stockings or Shoes. But every one will be amaz'd at the inconceivable Strength and Richness of Paris, which was able to maintain  
four

four hundred thousand Horse, including the *Burgundians, Bretons, Calabrians, Picardians,* and the rest of the Enemies Forces for a long time, and plentifully to supply them, without ever raising the Price of any manner of Provision; nay, immediately after the Enemy had left it, things were sold cheaper than they were before; and the whole *Thursday* following was spent in victualling the *Burgundian* Camp. The same Day the King went to make a private Visit to the Count *de Charolois* near *Conflans*, which was look'd upon by all Persons that had a Respect and Concern for his Majesty, as a very indiscreet Action; nay, the very *Picardians* themselves, and the rest of the Army could not forbear reflecting upon him, and breaking their Jest upon the *Parisians* after this manner, *Here take your King, who has at last submitted to the Count de Charolois, and meanly condescended to visit him in private; in a little time we shall have him at our Command.*

A. D.  
1465.

ON *Friday* the 4th of the same Month the King gave Orders for the Admittance of the *Burgundians* into the City through *St. Anthony's Gate*, who upon that Permission came in large Bodies, and committed several Riots and Disorders, which certainly they would never have done, had they not been encourag'd by the King's late Condescention in visiting the Count *de Charolois* in so private a manner.

ON the *Sunday* following several Men of Quality and Officers of the Army came and supp'd with the King at *Paris* in an *Hôtel* belonging to *M. John Lullier* the Town-Clerk, at which Entertainment several Ladies of Quality and Distinction were also present.



A. D. 1465. AND in this Month of *October* a Detachment of the Count *de Charolois's* Troops came before *Beauvais* and summon'd the Town to surrender; upon which the Inhabitants set down the Summons in Writing, and sent it to the King, who immediately sent it to the Count *de Charolois*, with whom he had lately concluded a Peace. The Count *de Charolois* sent back Word to the King, that he knew nothing of the Summons; and that whosoever had done it, did it without his Knowledge or Order. The King return'd a very civil Answer to the Count *de Charolois*, and told him it was not a fair way of Proceeding; that for the future, in pursuance of the Articles of Peace that was lately concluded between them, he must forbear committing such Acts of Hostility; and that if he had a mind to *Beauvais* he should have it.

ON the *Thursday* following several Waggon-Loads of Gold and Silver for the Payment of the Count *de Charolois's* Troops arriv'd in the *Burgundian* Camp under a strong Convoy both of Horse and Foot commanded by the Lord *de Savenuses*; and on the same Day the Duke of *Bretagne* and the King came to an Agreement in relation to the Affair that was between them, by which Compact the King was oblig'd to restore the County of *Monfort*, and several others; besides a vast Sum of Money to pay that very Army, which he, in Conjunction with the rest of the Princes, had rais'd to invade the King's Dominions. The next Day M. *John le Boulenger* President of the Court of Parliament was sent by the King's Order to the Town-House to acquaint the Mayor and Aldermen of *Paris* that the *Burgundians* had a Design to re-  
view

view their Army that Day before the City-Gates, and to desire them to acquaint the Common People with it, lest they should be surpris'd and astonish'd to see them thus drawn up against the Town. But after all, the Review was not made in sight of *Paris* that Day, but from *Pont de Charenton* to *Bois de Vincennes*, whither the King, attended only by the Count *de Charolois*, the Duke of *Calabria*, and the Count *de St. Paul*, very imprudently went to see the Review. As soon as the Review was over, the King came back by Water to *Paris*, and the Count *de Charolois* upon his taking Leave of his Majesty, in the Presence of those Lords that attended the King thither, made the following Acknowledgement in these Words, *My Lords, You and I are Subjects to the King here present, our Lord and Sovereign, and ought to serve him whenever he pleases to command us.*

A. D.

1465.

NOT long before this, the King had receiv'd a private Information of a Design form'd by some of his Enemies either to kill him or seize upon his Person; upon which he immediately order'd his Guards to be doubled, great Fires to be made every Night in the Streets, the Number of the Watch to be augmented as well upon the Walls, as in the Streets, and took all the Care imaginable to prevent their Designs and secure his own Person: and upon hearing of the Surrender of *Caen* and several other Towns in *Normandy*, he immediately re-inforc'd the Garrison of *Mante* with a considerable Body of Men at Arms and Frank-Archers.

ON *Tuesday* the 22d of *October* the King made a private Visit to the Princes at the *Grange-aux-Merciers*, where all but the Duke of *Berry* were met together, and the next Day the Duke

A. D. Duke of *Bourbon* had a long Conference with the King in a Place without the Gates of *Paris* 1465.  
 on this side of the Ditch of the *Grange de Ruilly*.

ON the *Saturday* following the Count de *Charolois* with a small Detachment left the Army, having first caus'd an Order to be publish'd in his Camp, by which all Soldiers were oblig'd under pain of Death to hold themselves in a Readiness to march against the *Liegeois*, who with Fire and Sword had invaded his Territories. *Sunday*, *Monday* and *Tuesday* the Duke de *Berry* lay ill of a Feaver at *St. Maur-des-Fosses*, but being pretty well recover'd of his Illness by *Wednesday* the 30th of *October*, and able to go abroad, he went to wait upon the King at *Bois de Vincennes*, where he did Homage to him for the Dutchy of *Normandy*, which the King gave him for his Appennage: And on the same Day the Articles of Peace between the King and the Princes were read and publish'd in the Court of Parliament, and order'd to be register'd in the same Court.

AND on the *Thursday* following the Duke of *Berry*, the Count de *Charolois*, and the rest of the Princes separated, and went different Ways. The Duke of *Berry*, whom the King waited on some part of the way to *Ponthoise*, went into *Normandy*; and afterwards the King and the Count de *Charolois* retir'd to *Villiers-le-Bel*, where they staid two or three Days, and from thence the Count march'd with all speed through *Picardy* to make War upon the *Liegeois*.

ON the *Monday* following M. Robert Destouville Lord of *Beine*, who was Mayor of *Paris* in the Reign of the late King *Charles*, and had been displac'd by the King upon his Accession to the Crown, was restor'd to his former Office which



which had been given to *James de Villiers* Lord A. D.  
of *Liste Adam*; and that Day he sate in the 1465.  
Town-House as Mayor, and dispatch'd a great  
deal of the King's Business.

ON Thursday the 7th of November, 1465. M.  
*Robert Destouteville* was conducted to the Chastel-  
let of Paris by M. *Charles de Meleun* and M. *John*  
*Dauvet* first President of the Parliament of  
*Thoulouse*, whom the King had acquainted with  
the said *Robert Destouteville's* having taken the  
Oaths already as Mayor of Paris in the Room  
of *James de Villiers*, whom upon his first Acces-  
sion to the Crown, he had advanc'd to that  
Office. And after the Letters Patents by  
which the King appointed and constituted the  
said *Robert Destouteville* Mayor of Paris were  
read, he was immediately put into Possession  
of his Office, without giving the said *Villiers*  
any time to lodge an Appeal against him.

ON Saturday the 9th of November M. *Peter*  
*Morvillier* Chancellor of France resign'd the  
Seals, and was succeeded in the Chancellor-  
ship by *Juvenal des Ursins*, who was in the  
same Post at the Death of the late King  
*Charles VII.*

ABOUT this time also the King made sever-  
al Alterations and Promotions in his Court;  
amongst the rest he turn'd M. *Peter Puy* out of  
his Office of Master of the Requests, and gave  
it to M. *Regnault des Dormans*.

AFTER the settling of this Affair, the King  
went to Orleans, and took with him *Arnold Lul-*  
*lier* Banker and Citizen of Paris, whom he  
commanded to attend him during his stay  
there; he also carried along with him M. *John*  
*Longuejoye* the Younger, who was newly mar-  
ried to Madam *Genevree* Daughter of M. *John*  
*Baillet*,

A. D. 1465. *Baillet*, and made him one of his Councillors of State. Before he left *Paris* he made *M. Charles d'Orgement* Lord of *Mery*, Treasurer of *France*; *Arnold Lullier* Treasurer of *Carcassonne*; and *M. Peter Ferreil*, Comptroller of his Household.

THE King, during his stay at *Orleans*, made several Acts, Laws and Ordinances; turn'd out several Officers of the Army; and gave their Commissions to others: amongst the rest he took away the Command of a hundred Lances from *Poncet de Riviere*, and made him Bailiff of *Mont Ferrant*; upon which in a Disgust he went beyond Sea, and visited *Jerusalem*, and the Holy Hill of *St. Catharine*. Several other Officers had their Commissions taken from them, and given to others that did not so well deserve them. The King also restor'd *Monsieur de Lobeac* Marshal of *France* to all his former Places in the Government, some of which had been given to the Count de *Comminges* Bastard of *Armaignac*; and after he had settled these Regulations, he leaves *Orleans*, and marches with his whole Army and Artillery directly into *Normandy* towards *Argenten*, *Exmes*, *Falaiz*, *Caen*, and other Places; in order to reduce 'em to his Obedience, where he found the Duke of *Bretagne*, who staid there some time with his Majesty.

A little after this the Duke of *Berry* went from *Roan* to *Louviers*, thinking to find the Duke of *Bourbon* there; but being disappointed of meeting him, he immediately came back again. Upon his Return to *Roan*, he was with great Pomp and Ceremony conducted into the Town-House by the Magistrates of the City, who, according to the usual Custom of the Place, acknowledg'd him for their Duke by  
put-

putting a Ring on his Finger; afterwards he took an Oath to maintain and support them in their Privileges and Franchises, and immediately remitted them half the Taxes they were formerly us'd to pay. This Act of Generosity won the Hearts of the whole City, and so firmly united them to his Interest; that the Nobility, Gentry, Clergy, and the Common People vow'd to sacrifice their Lives and Fortunes in his Service, and to remain faithful and loyal Subjects for ever. And afterwards they presented him an old Book of Records that was in the Town-House, and made him read an Article in it aloud before all the People which gave an Account of a King of *France* heretofore who at his Death left two Sons, the eldest of which succeeded his Father, and the Youngest had the Dutchy of *Normandy* for his Appennage; how that the elder Brother as soon as he was settled in his Kingdom, demanded a Restitution of the said Dutchy, and being denied, how he made War upon his Younger Brother, and thought to have taken it from him by Force, but his Subjects unanimously joyning with him, they dethron'd his Brother the King of *France*, and set up their Duke for King. After he had done reading, they boldly told him, they fear'd nothing; that their Fortifications were strong and in good Repair; that they had great store of Cannon, Arms, Ammunition and Provision, and could upon Occasion make a brave Defence, assuring him they would one and all to a Man stand by him, and defend him, themselves, and the Town against any Opposers whatsoever.

A. D.

1465.



A. D. 1465. ON the 30th of *December* of the same Year the King in his Return from *Lower Normandy* arriv'd at *Pontbaudemer*, and from thence march'd into the County of *Neufbourg*, from whence he detach'd the Duke of *Bourbon* with a Body of Forces to summon *Louviers*, which surrender'd the *Wednesday* following, and the Duke of *Bourbon* took Possession of it for the King, into which his Majesty made a publick Entry the same Day after Dinner. From *Louviers* the King march'd to a Town call'd *du Pont des Archers*, about four Leagues from *Roan*, which he formally besieg'd.

ON *Monday* the 6th of *January* a Proclamation was issued out at *Paris*, commanding all the Suttlers that were us'd to supply the Army with Provisions, to repair immediately to the Camp before *du Pont des Archers*, and all the Prisoners were order'd to be ready by the next Morning to set out for the same Place under the Command of M. *Denis* one of the four Aldermen of the City, who was appointed to take care of them.

ON the *Wednesday* following the King enter'd *du Pont des Archers*, and M. *John Hebert* with several others who were in the Town retir'd to the Castle, which three Days after was also surrender'd to the King. After the Surrender of the Town and Castle, the Citizens of *Roan* sent Deputies to treat of an Accommodation, who highly complain'd of the Dukes of *Bourbon* and *Bretagne*. And amongst other Requests and Remonstrances that the said Deputies were order'd to make to the King, one was that his Majesty would be pleas'd to be reconcil'd to them, notwithstanding what they had done; that he would openly declare that they had

had not been wanting in their Duty, nor acted contrary to his Interest, and that he would grant them the same Privileges and Immunities he had granted his good City of *Paris*, to which his Majesty answer'd, he would consult his Council about it.

A. D.  
1465.

WHILST this Affair was in Agitation, several of the King's Party had free Admittance into *Roan*, and convers'd familiarly with the Citizens; in the mean time the Duke of *Berry* and several of his Adherents retir'd to *Honnefleu* and *Caen*, where they staid for some Time. During these Transactions, M. *John de Lorraine* thought to have made his Escape into *Flanders*, but was taken and brought before the King, who dispos'd of most of the Offices belonging to the Dutchy of *Normandy*, putting in new Officers and turning out the old ones. And after the Duke of *Berry's* leaving *Roan*, the City was reduc'd to the King's Obedience, upon which the King dismiss'd all his Frank-Archers from his Service till the first of *March* following; sent all his Artillery to *Paris*, and retir'd to *Mount St. Michael* in Lower *Normandy*. About that time the King gave the Command of a hundred Lances, which belong'd to M. *Charles de Meleun*, to the Count *de Dampmartin* who was with him, and not long after depriv'd him of his Office of High Steward of his Household, and gave it to M. *de Craon*: However, several People were of Opinion, that M. *Charles de Meleun* had done the King signal Services, and been very faithful to him, especially in his great Care and Defence of *Paris* in the King's Absence in *Bourbonnois*; which he manag'd and regulated so well, that many sincerely believe, that the Preservation of that City

A. D. 1465. City and the whole Kingdom is in some Measure owing to his Conduct and Vigilance in that Affair.

ABOUT that time the King commanded *Chaumont* upon the *Loire*, (belonging to M. *Peter d'Amboise* Lord of the same Place,) to be burnt, and it was accordingly done.

ON Monday the third of February one *Gauvain Manniel* Lieutenant-General of the Bailiwick of *Roan*, was taken in the City and carry'd Prisoner to *Pont de l'Arche*, and there upon a Scaffold erected near the Town-Bridge, was beheaded by the Provost-Marshal for High Treason, his Head fix'd upon a Lance on the same Bridge, and his Body thrown into the River *Seine*. Just after this, the Dean of *Roan* and six Canons were banish'd the City, and expell'd the Dutchy of *Normandy*.

AFTER this the King went to *Orleans*, where he staid a considerable time with the Queen; and then retir'd to *Fargeau* and the Neighbourhood of that Place, where Ambassadors from several Potentates upon different Affairs came to wait upon his Majesty; and about that time he resolv'd to send an Embassy to the King of *England*, and accordingly the Count *de Roussillon* Bastard of *Bourbon* and Admiral of *France*, the Lord *de la Barde*, the Bishop and Duke of *Lan-gres*, M. *John de Pompaincourt*, and M. *Oliver le Roye* one of the Counsellors of the Exchequer, were chosen to go in that Embassy, and they set out for *England* in April 1466.

A. D. 1466. ON Saturday Whitfun-Eve an Order was publish'd by sound of Trumpet in all the Publick Streets of *Paris* by the Command of the Constable of *France*, in which Order was inserted the Royal Mandate he had newly receiv'd from



from the King ; the Substance of which was, A. D.  
that the King, (having receiv'd certain Advice 1466.  
that the *English* his ancient Enemies had a De-  
sign to invade the Kingdom of *France* with a  
powerful Army, and for that Descent were  
fitting out a strong Squadron of Men of War,)  
was resolv'd to make what Preparations he  
could to oppose and defeat their Designs ; and  
therefore had given full Power and Command  
to his Constable of *France* to make Proclama-  
tion of it in all the Cities, Towns, Villages  
and Hamlets of the Kingdom ; in order that all  
the Nobility and Gentry holding any Lands  
by Homage or Fealty of the Crown, not ex-  
cepting the *Frank-Archers*, should be ready in  
Arms by the 15th of *June* following, under  
Pain of Imprisonment and Confiscation of  
Goods.

At the same time a Peace was concluded  
with the *English* both by Sea and Land, which  
was publickly proclaim'd ; and about that time  
also the Duke *du Maine* was for some secret  
Reason turn'd out of his Government of *Lan-  
guedoc* by the King, which was given to the  
Duke of *Bourbon*.

AFTER the Consummation of Marriage be-  
tween the Admiral of *France* and the King's  
Natural Daughter, the King gave the said  
Admiral the Castle of *Usson* in *Auvergne*, which  
was look'd upon to be the strongest Place in  
the whole Kingdom, with the Government of  
*Honnefleür* and several other Places in *Normandy*.

IN *July* several Prelates, Lords, Church-men  
and Counsellors, that the King had sent for to  
make some new Regulations in all the Courts  
of Justice, and to reform some Abuses, arriv'd  
at *Paris* ; to whom the King gave full Power  
and

A. D. and Authority, and by virtue of the same he  
 1466. nominated and appointed one and twenty  
 Commissioners, of which M. *Charles d'Orleans*,  
 Count *de Dunois* and *Longueville* was chief and  
 first Commissioner; and even these Commis-  
 sioners had no Powers of acting, unless thirteen  
 of 'em besides their President the Count *de Du-*  
*nois* and *Longueville* were assembled together;  
 and in pursuance of the Commission that had  
 been granted them, they began their Sittings  
 on *Tuesday* the 16th, and were call'd by the  
 People the *Reformers of the Nation*. This was  
 just a Year since the Battle between the King  
 and the Count *de Charolois* at *Mont l'Hery*.

ABOUT this time a War broke out between  
 the *Liegeois* and the Duke of *Burgundy*; upon which  
 he immediately took the Field with his whole  
 Army, and being a little indispos'd, was carried  
 in a Litter, commanding his Son the Count *de*  
*Charolois*, with all the Nobles and Officers that  
 were with him, to march forward with a strong  
 Detachment to invest *Dinant*, and leave him to  
 come up with the rest of the Army. Upon  
 his Arrival the Town was formally besieg'd;  
 which occasion'd several Sallies and bloody  
 Actions on both sides, much to the Disadvan-  
 tage of the *Burgundians* in the beginning of the  
 Siege; but at last, whether by Force of Arms  
 or Treason, the Town was taken by the *Bur-*  
*gundians*; who, only reserving a few of the chief  
 Citizens whom they made Prisoners of War,  
 turn'd out Men, Women and Children, and  
 gave it up to be plunder'd by their Soldiers.  
 Nor were they contented with this; they set  
 Fire to the Churches and the Houses, and ha-  
 ving burnt and consum'd every thing they  
 could lay their Hands on, they order'd the  
 Walls

Walls to be demolish'd, and the Fortifications to be blown up; by which means the poor Inhabitants were reduc'd to extreme Want and Necessity, and abundance of Young Women were forc'd to betake themselves to a vile and shameful way of living. A. D. 1466.

IN *August* and *September* in the same Year, the Heats were so violent as to breed the Plague and several other contagious Distempers in *France*; which swept away in a little space of time above forty thousand People in *Paris* and the Neighbouring Towns. Some Persons of Note and Learning died also of it, amongst whom we may reckon M. *Arnoul* the King's Astrologer, a very worthy, learned and facetious Person; several eminent Physicians; and abundance of Officers belonging to the City.

DURING the Plague the King and his Council staid at *Orleans*, *Chartres*, *Bourges*, *Mebun* and *Amboise*; and during his Abode in that Neighbourhood, he receiv'd several Embassies from Foreign Princes and States, especially from *England* and *Burgundy*; and 'twas there he declar'd in Council his Resolutions of making War upon the Duke of *Burgundy*, and his Son the Count *de Charolois*; upon which the *Ban* and *Arriere-Ban* were order'd to be rais'd, and a considerable Augmentation to be made to the Body of *Frank-Archers*.

AFTER this Affair was dispatch'd, the King made several new Ordinances and Establishments for the better Defence of his Kingdom, and the garrison'd Towns in it; and accordingly he made the Marshal *de Lobeac* his Lieutenant of *Paris* and the Isle of *France*; M. *de Geilon* had the Government of *Champagne*, and the Govern-



A. D. 1466. *m*ent of *Normandy* was given to the Count *de St. Paul* Constable of *France*, who formerly was the King's Enemy, and had joyn'd with the Duke of *Burgundy* and the Count *de Charolois*.

SOME time after this, in *February* 1466. an Ambassador from *Bretagne* arriv'd at *Paris*, who after he had had Audience of the King, set out for *Flanders* to wait on the Duke of *Burgundy*, and the Count *de Charolois* his Son. The many Civilities that the King shew'd this Ambassador, made some Persons of Note imagine that the Affair between the King and his Brother was amicably adjust'd, at which they were extremely glad.

A. D. 1467. *I*MMEDIATELY after this, the King set out from *Paris* in order to visit *Roan* and several other Places in *Normandy*; and during his stay at *Roan* he sent for the Earl of *Warwick* out of *England*, and went by Water, attended by several of his Nobility, as far as *Bouille* to meet him, which was situated on the *Seine*, about four Leagues from *Roan*. He arriv'd there on the 7th of *June* about Dinner-time, where he found a magnificent Entertainment ready prepar'd for him and his Nobility; and after Dinner the Earl of *Warwick* came to pay his Complement to the King, after which he went to *Roan* by Water, and the King and his Nobility by Land. The Magistrates of *Roan* in their Formalities were order'd to go out to meet the Earl of *Warwick*, and receive him upon his Landing at the Key-Gate of *St. Eloy* with abundance of Pomp and Ceremony, bearing before him Crosses, Banners, Holy-Water Bottles, and the Relicks of several Saints, attended by the Priests in their Copes; and after this manner he was conducted to the Church of

of *Nostre Dame*, where he made his Offering, A. D. 1467. and from thence to a magnificent Apartment prepar'd for him in one of the religious Houses. Soon after this the Queen and the Young Princesses came to *Roan*, and the King staid there with the Earl of *Warwick* about a Fortnight, after which the Earl took Leave of his Majesty, and return'd to *England*, accompany'd by the Admiral of *France*, the Bishop of *Laon*, M. *John de Pompauncount*, M. *Olivier le Roux*, and several others, whom the King had order'd to wait upon him thither.

THE King presented the Earl of *Warwick* during his stay at *Roan* with several valuable and rich Presents; amongst the rest, a piece of Gold Plate, and a large Gold Cup set with precious Stones. The Duke of *Bourbon* also presented him with a fine Diamond, and several other things of Value; besides, he and his whole Retinue had all their Expences born by the King from their first Landing in *France*, to their Embarking for *England*. After the Earl's Departure the King return'd from *Roan* to *Chartres*, where he staid some time; and in this Month died *Philip* Duke of *Burgundy*, and his Body was carried with great Solemnity to *Dijon*, and interr'd in the Church of the *Carthusians*.

IMMEDIATELY after this the King order'd a Broclamation to be publish'd, by which, (in order to re-people his good City of *Paris* that had been greatly diminish'd by War, Sickness, and other Misfortunes) his Majesty gave leave to Strangers of all Nations, of what Crimes soever they had been guilty, except High Treason, to come and settle in the City, Suburbs or Precincts thereof; promising to grant

A. D. 1467. 'em the same Privileges as his own Subjects, and to defend and protect 'em even not excepting those that had been banish'd to *St. Malo's* and *Valenciennes*. At the same time also by found of Trumpet was publish'd an Order, commanding all the Nobles and Gentry holding any Lands or Tenures by Homage or Fealty, even not excepting those of the Isle of *France*, as well in *Paris* as elsewhere, to be ready in Arms by the 15th of *August*.

ABOUT this time the Admiral of *France* and those that were order'd by the King to wait on the Earl of *Warwick* into *England*, return'd; where they had staid a long while without doing any thing, and brought with them some Hunting-Horns and Leathern-Bottles as a Present from the King of *England* to the King of *France*, in return for all the valuable ones his Majesty and the Duke of *Bourbon* had made the Earl of *Warwick* at his Departure from *Roan*. And on *Friday* the 18th of *August* the King arriv'd at *Paris* about Nine at Night, attended by the Duke of *Bourbon* and several of the Nobility.

ON *Tuesday* the first of *September* the Queen also came from *Roan* to *Paris* by Water, and landed at *Nostre Dame*; where her Majesty was receiv'd by all the Presidents and Counsellors of the Court of Parliament, the Bishop of *Paris* and several Persons of Quality in their Robes and Formalities. There was also a certain Number of Persons richly dress'd to complement her on the part of the City; and abundance of the chief Citizens and Counsellors of *Paris* went by Water to meet her Majesty in fine gilded Boats, cover'd with Tapestry and rich Silks, in which were plac'd the Queristers  
of



of the *Holy Chappel*, who sung Psalms and Anthems after a most heavenly and melodious manner. There was also a great Number of Trumpets, Clarions, and other softer Instruments of Musick, which altogether made a most harmonious Consort, and began playing when the Queen and her Maids of Honour enter'd the Boat, in which the Citizens of *Paris* presented her Majesty with a large Stag made in Sweet-meats; besides a vast quantity of Salvers heap'd up with Spices and all sorts of delicious Fruits; Roses, Violets, and other Perfumes being strew'd in the Boat, and as much Wine as every Body would drink. After the Queen had perform'd her Devotions to the *Blessed Virgin*, she came back to her Boat, and went by Water to the *Celestins* Church-Gate, where she found abundance of Persons of Quality more, ready to receive her Majesty, who immediately upon her Landing, with her Maids of Honour, mounted upon fine easie Pads, and rode to the *Hotel des Tournelles*, where the King was at that time, and where she was receiv'd with great Joy and Satisfaction by his Majesty and the whole Court, and that Night there were publick Rejoycings and Bone-fires in *Paris*, for her Majesty's safe Arrival.

ON the 14th of *September*, the King, who had order'd the *Parisians* to make Standards, publish'd a Proclamation commanding all the Inhabitants from Sixteen to Threescore, of what Rank or Condition soever, to be ready to appear in Arms that very Day in the Fields; and that those that were not able to provide themselves with Helmets, Brigandines, &c. should come arm'd with great Clubs, under Pain of Death; which Orders were punctually

A. D. 1467. *obey'd, and the greatest part of the Populace appear'd in Arms, rang'd under their proper Standard or Banner, in good Order and Discipline; amounting to fourscore thousand Men; thirty Thousand of which were arm'd with Coats of Mail, Helmets, and Brigandines, and made a very fine Appearance. Never did any City in the World furnish such a vast Number of Men, for it was computed there were three-score and seven Banners or Standards of Tradesmen, without reckoning those of the Court of Parliament, Exchequer, Treasury, Mint, and Chasteller of Paris, which had under them as many or more Soldiers than what belong'd to the Tradesmens Banners. A prodigious quantity of Wine was order'd out of Paris to comfort and refresh this vast Body of Men, which took up a vast Tract of Ground; extending themselves from the end of the Lay-stall between St. Anthony's Gate and that of the Temple as far as the Town-Ditch upwards to the Wine-Press; and from thence along the Walls of St. Anthoine des Champs to the Grange de Ruilly; and from thence to Conflans; and from Conflans back again by the Grange-aux-Merciers, all along the River Seine quite to the Royal Bulwark over against the Tower of Billy; and from thence all along the Town-Ditch on the Outside to the Bastille and St. Anthony's Gate. In short, 'twas almost incredible to tell what a vast Number of People there were in Arms before Paris, yet the Number of those within was pretty near as great.*

ABOUT this time a terrible War broke out between the *Liegeois*, and the Duke of *Burgundy* and their Bishop, Cousin to the Duke of *Burgundy*, and Brother to the Duke of *Bourbon*; whom

whom they besieg'd in *Huye*, and after a long A. D. Siege took the Town, but the Bishop made his Escape; and towards the latter end of it the King sent four hundred Lances under the Command of the Count de *Dampmartin*, *Sallexart*, *Robert de Conychan*, and *Steuerbot de Vignolles* with six thousand *Frank-Archers*, pick'd and chosen out of *Champagne*, *Soissonnois*, and several Places in the Isle of *France*. As soon as the *Burgundians* heard that the *Liegeois* had taken *Huye*, they resolv'd immediately to take the Field with their whole Army, and to march against them and destroy them with Fire and Sword, to be reveng'd of them for the *Burgundians* they had slain upon their taking the Town. Accordingly they declar'd War against them throughout all their Dominions by the Ceremony of a naked Sword in one Hand, and a burning Torch in the other; signifying that this was a War of Blood and Fire.

ABOUT the same time the King sent the Bishop of *Eureux*, who was lately made a Cardinal at *Rome*, *M. John de Ladriesme* Treasurer of *France*, and several others, in an Embassy to the Count de *Charolois*, to negotiate some secret Affair with that Prince.

ON *Sunday* Night about Nine, there was such terrible Thunder and Lightning as had scarce been known in the Memory of Man, and during the whole Month there were such prodigious Heats as surpriz'd every Body; which was look'd upon to be very strange and unnatural.

ON *Thursday* the 15th of the same Month the King receiv'd Advice that a great Detachment of *Bretons* had possess'd themselves of the Town and Castle of *Caen* in *Normandy*, and from thence march'd to *Bayeux*, which they also



A. D. 1467. so surpriz'd, and turning out the Garrison put some of their own Troops in it. The King was extremely concern'd at this News; and immediately sends the Marshal *de Lobeac*, who had the Command of a hundred Lances of *Bretagne*, into *Normandy*; to see how Affairs stood there.

ABOUT this time M. *Anthony de Chasteauneuf* (Lord of *Lau*, Great Butler of *France* and Seneschal of *Guienne*, Great Chamberlain to the King, and the most belov'd and rewarded of any Favourite the King ever had) was by his Majesty's Order mov'd from the Castle of *Sully* upon the *Loire*, where he had been long a Prisoner, to the Castle of *Usson* in *Auvergne*, by M. *Tristan l'Ermite* the King's Provost Marshal, and *William Cerisay* newly chosen Register in Parliament; and upon this Removal, there was a Discourse, which lasted some time, that he was executed, but 'twas a false Report.

ON *Tuesday* the 20th of *October* the King set out from *Paris* for *Normandy*, and lay that Night at *Villeperieux*, and the next at *Mante*. Before he left *Paris*, he sent for several of his Captains and Officers of his Army, and order'd them to get the Troops that were under their Command in a Readiness to follow him into *Normandy*, or where-ever there should be most occasion for 'em: and on the same Day he publish'd certain Letters and Ordinances, by which he declar'd, that it was his Royal Will and Pleasure that for the future all the Officers of his Kingdom both Civil and Military, should continue in their Places; and that no Place should become vacant, but by Death, Resignation, or Forfeiture; resolving to dispose of no Places but what became vacant by one of the three before-mention'd Ways, and therefore 'twould

'twould be in vain for any one to expect or solicit for a Post upon any other Terms, since he design'd to do Justice to every one. After this Declaration he set out from *Mante* for *Vernon* on the *Seine*, where he staid some time; during which the Constable of *France*, who came thither to pay his Respects to the King, found out an Expedient how to conclude a Peace between his Majesty and the Duke of *Burgundy* for six Months from the Date of the Articles, without including the *Liegeois*, who were actually in Arms against the Duke of *Burgundy*, in hopes of being assisted by the King as they were promis'd; but by this Treaty they were baulk'd in their Expectations, and left in the Lurch. As soon as the Treaty was sign'd and seal'd by the King, the Constable of *France* went to wait on the Duke of *Burgundy* to acquaint him with it.

A. D.

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SOON after this M. *John de Balue* Bishop of *Eureux*, M. *John Ladrische*, and the rest that had been sent into *Flanders* to negotiate an Affair at the Duke of *Burgundy's* Court, came to *Vernon* to give the King an Account of their Embassy; immediately after which the King left *Vernon* and came to *Chartres*, where he staid till the Arrival of the greatest part of his Artillery from *Orleans*, which was to be employ'd in the Reduction of *Alençon* and several other Towns in the same Province. And afterwards the King sent M. *John Prevost* into *Flanders*, with the Articles of Peace, to the Duke of *Burgundy*.

ON the 16th the Bishop of *Eureux*, the Treasurer *de Ladrische*, Monsieur *John Berart*, and Monsieur *Jeffery Alnequin* arriv'd at *Paris* in order to review the Banners, and to inspect several other things that the King had given

Al. D. given them in Charge. After that the King  
 1467. went from *Chartres* to *Orleans*, *Clery*, and other  
 Towns in that Neighbourhood ; and afterwards  
 to *Vendosme*, from whence he march'd with  
 great part of his Artillery, and a considerable  
 Body of Troops, to *Mount St. Michael*. In the  
 mean time the *Bretons* with a strong Army left  
 their own Country, and penetrated into *Normandy*  
 as far as the City of *Orange*, and other  
 Towns of that Province, and also dispers'd  
 themselves in small Bodies all over *Normandy*,  
 as far as *Caen*, *Bayeux*, *Constances*, and other Places.  
 About the same time, the Duke of *Burgundy*,  
 taking Advantage of the Peace that was con-  
 cluded between him and the King, in which  
 the *Liegeois* were excluded, marches against  
 them with his whole Army, and lays Siege to  
 their Capital City, who being baulk'd in their  
 Expectation of those Succours that the King  
 promis'd to send them, and seeing their Ruin  
 near at hand, were at last forc'd to surrender all  
 their Towns to the Count de *Charolois*, besides  
 giving him a vast Sum of Money, and consent-  
 ing to have their Gates pull'd down, and part of  
 their Walls demolish'd.

ON Saturday the 22d of November the Bishop  
 of *Eureux* and the rest of the Commissioners  
 appointed for that purpose; review'd the Bands  
 of the Tradesmen as they were drawn up and  
 rang'd under their respective Banners, in several  
 Places in the City. And the very same  
 Day the King commanded a Proclamation to  
 be issued out, commanding all Persons that  
 were us'd to serve in the Wars, to repair forth-  
 with to certain Commissaries appointed to re-  
 ceive and give them Pay. And the next Day  
 M. *John Prevost* return'd from the Duke of *Bur-*  
*gundy's*



*gundy's Court*, whither the King had sent him with the Articles of Peace, and brought his Majesty back the Answer the Count *de Charolois* had given him in Relation to that Affair. On *Thursday* the 16th of *November* there was another Review made of all the Banners without the Gates of *Paris*. As soon as the Review was over, the Bishop of *Eureux*, and the rest of the Commissioners, with M. *John de Ladrifche* Treasurer of *France*, M. *Peter l'Orfeure* Lord *Dermenonville*, and several other of the King's Officers set out from *Paris* to wait upon the King, who was between *Mans* and *Alençon* with a prodigious Army consisting of a hundred thousand Horse and twenty thousand Foot, in order to oppose the *Bretons*; upon which his Majesty order'd the greatest part of his Artillery to be brought up, to be employ'd in the Siege of *Alençon*.

DURING these Transactions there were some Overtures of Peace which hinder'd the King from entering upon Action; and so by consequence his Army was forc'd to destroy and eat up all the flat Country for twenty or thirty Leagues round *Mans* and *Alençon*. In the mean time the Count *de Charolois*, who had already destroy'd the *Liegeois*, and over-run the Country, retir'd to *St. Quintin*; and order'd a Proclamation to be issu'd out thro' his whole Dominions, commanding all his Subjects that were able to bear Arms, and those Forces that were already rais'd, to repair to *St. Quintin* by a certain Day upon pain of Imprisonment, in order to be review'd by certain Commissaries appointed for that Purpose. The same Proclamation he caus'd to be publish'd in *Burgundy*, commanding all his Subjects of that Dutchy

A. D. to repair to *Montfavion* by the 22d of *December*, 1467. as a Place of general Rendezvous, where several Commissaries were also appointed to lift and enter them in his Service; from whence they were order'd to march and join the Forces at St. *Quintin*, which were to act in Conjunction with those of the Dukes of *Berry* and *Bretagne*, against the King of *France*. Upon publishing of this Proclamation, several Merchants of *Paris* that were gone into *Burgundy* to buy up some Commodities, made a quick Return, without doing any Business; and the Count de *Charolois* order'd all his Forces to rendezvous at St. *Quintin* on the 4th of *January* following.

ON *Innocents Day*, which was the 28th of *December*, the Duke of *Bourbon* who came by the King's Order to put strong Garrisons into his Frontier-Towns, and to cover his Country, that the *Burgundians* might not penetrate into it, arriv'd at *Paris*, and with him the Marshal de *Lobeac*, who, according to common Report, was to be Lieutenant of the City. The Duke of *Bourbon* made some stay at *Paris*; but the Marshal de *Lobeac* set out two Days after for *Roan*, and several other Towns in *Normandy*, to put them in a Posture of Defence, according to the King's Orders; where he staid a considerable time. The *Parisians* were extremely civil to the Duke of *Bourbon*, and during his stay there, he was caress'd by several of the chief Citizens, who made Feasts and Entertainments on purpose for him. In the mean time the City of *Alençon*, which was in the Hands of the *Bretons*, was surrender'd to the King by the Count du *Percbe* Son to the Duke of *Alençon*, who commanded in the Castle at the

the same time that the *Bretons* were Masters of the Town. All this time the King did not stir from *Mans*; and during his stay there, he sent the Pope's Legate whom we have already mention'd, *Anthony de Chabannes*, -Count de *Dampmartin*, the Treasurer *Ladriesche*, and several others in an Embassy to the Duke of *Berry*, to offer Terms of Accommodation; and at last the King consented to the calling the Three Estates of the Kingdom. *Tours* was the Place appointed for their Meeting, where, according to Order, they were assembled on the first of *April*, 1467. upon which the King left *Mans*, and came to *Montils* near *Tours*, *Amboise*, and thereabouts.

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AS soon as the Three Estates of the Kingdom were assembled, the King came and acquainted them with the Occasion of their Meeting; and had from time to time several Debates and Conferences with them concerning the Affair between him and his Brother the Duke of *Berry*, till the time of their breaking up, which was till *Easter Day*, 1468. There were present at this Assembly the King, the King of *Sicily*, the Duke of *Bourbon*, the Count *du Perche*, the Patriarch of *Jerusalem*, the Cardinal of *Angiers*, several other Lords, Barons, Archbishops, Bishops, Abbots, and abundance of other Persons of Quality and Condition; besides several Ambassadors from all Parts of *France*. And by this August Assembly it was agreed and resolv'd, (after a long and mature Deliberation, in order to end the Dispute between the King and his Brother M. *Charles* concerning his Appennage,) that his Majesty should allow him twelve thousand Livers a Year in Land, with the Title of Count or Duke; and that

A. D.  
1468.



A. D. 1468. that he should be oblig'd to give and allow him besides an Annual Pension in Money of threescore thousand Livers more, without any Prejudice to the rest of his Majesty's Children, who hereafter might come to the Crown, and be requir'd to give the same Appennage. To which the King, (being extremely desirous to live in perfect Peace and Union with his Brother,) at last consented, and willingly gave him the Annual Allowance of threescore thousand Livers, seeing he generously relinquish'd the Dutchy of *Normandy*, saying, it was not in the King's Power to dismember or give away any thing that belong'd to the Crown. And as for the Duke of *Brétagne*, who had sided with *M. Charles*, and had taken several Towns in *Normandy*, being suspected to hold a Correspondence with the *English* the ancient Enemies of *France*, it was agreed by the said Assembly, that he should be summon'd to surrender the Towns he was possess'd of, and that upon Refusal, and the King's having certain Advice of his having made an Alliance with the *English*, his Majesty should immediately endeavour to recover them by Force of Arms, and the Three Estates of the Kingdom promis'd to stand by and support him; the Clergy with their Prayers and Estates; and the Nobility, Gentry and Commonalty with their Estates and Persons. And moreover, the King was extremely desirous that Justice should be fairly and impartially administred through the whole Kingdom; and therefore he propos'd to this Assembly the chusing some Person of Honour and Quality out of the Three Estates, to regulate and take care of that Matter; and the whole Assembly were of Opinion, that noBody was

was so fit to be employ'd in that Office as the Count *de Charolois*, who was a Peer of *France*, and nearly ally'd to the Crown. After this Debate was over, the King left *Tours*, and went to *Amboise*; and a little after he sent to the Assembly then sitting at *Cambray* to know how they approv'd of the Resolution that had been taken by the three Estates of the Kingdom that were conven'd at *Tours*, as you have already heard.

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AFTER the King had dispatch'd this Affair, he went to *Meaux* in *Brie*; where he order'd a certain Person born in *Bourbonnois* to be beheaded for some Crimes he had committed, and amongst the rest for discovering the King's Secrets to the *English*, the ancient Enemies of *France*. Just before this the King was graciously pleas'd to grant an Act of Grace and Indemnity; and the Prince of *Piedmont* the Duke of *Savoy's* Son was sent to *Paris* with full Power and Authority to release all the Prisoners out of Jail.

ABOUT the same time the *Burgundians* or the *Bretons*, who had invaded *Normandy*, surpriz'd the Lord *de Merville* between *St. Saviour de Dive* and *Caen*; and made him deliver up his Castle into their Hands, in which there were a small Number of Frank-Archers. As soon as they had surrender'd it, they hang'd the Lord *de Merville*, plunder'd the Castle, and afterwards set Fire to it. After this the King left *Creil*, and went to *Compeigne*, where he staid some time, and then return'd to *Senlis*, and from thence the Duke of *Bourbon* went to *Paris*, where he arriv'd on the *Assumption of our Lady*. Some time before this the King had sent M. *de Lyon*, the Constable of *France*, and several other

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Lords

A. D. 1468. Lords in an Embassy to the Duke of Burgundy ;  
 to endeavour to adjust the Difference between  
 them without coming to an open War, notwithstanding he had already sent an Army into *Normandy* under the Command of the Admiral of *France*, who had been so successful as in a Month's time to drive the *Bretons* out of *Bayeux*. On Saturday the 20th of *August*, 1468. M. Charles de Meleun Lord of *Normanville*, (who had formerly been Steward of the King's Household,) was brought out of the Castle of *Gaillart*, where he had newly been committed Prisoner, under the Command of the Count de *Dampmartin*, and publickly beheaded in the Market-place of *Andely* ; according to the Sentence that had been pronounc'd against him by the Provost-Marshal. After this the King staid some time at *Noyon*, *Compeigne*, *Chavay*, and other Places thereabouts, till the 15th of *September*, where he receiv'd the agreeable News of the Duke of *Bretagne's* and his Brother Charles's Readiness to consent to the Terms of Accommodation that his Majesty had propos'd to 'em ; and that his Brother M. Charles was ready to accept of his Annual Pension of threescore thousand Livers *Tournois*, till his Appennage could be fully settled by the Duke of *Calabria* and the Constable of *France*, who were the Persons he had chosen to settle and manage that Affair. The Duke of *Bretagne* on his Part offer'd to surrender all the Towns he had taken from the King in *Normandy*, provided his Majesty would restore all those that his Troops were in Possession of in *Bretagne* ; to which the King readily consented.



THE King immediately sent an Expreſs to the Duke of *Burgundy*, who lay incamp'd between *Eſcluſiers* and *Cappy*, to acquaint him with this Accommodation ; but he would give no Credit to it, till it was farther confirm'd by certain Advices from the Duke of *Bretagne* and *M. Charles* ; however he would not retire with his Army, but ſtill continued in the ſame Poſt between *Eſcluſiers* and *Cappy*, behind the River *Somme*. During his Encampment there, ſeveral Perſons of Quality were deputed to wait on the Duke of *Burgundy* ; amongſt whom were the Conſtable of *France*, the Cardinal *d'Angiers*, and *M. Peter Doriolle*, in hopes of accommodating Matters amicably between him and the King, which his Maſteſty was extremely deſirous of ; but the Officers of his Army were of another Mind, and begg'd the King that he would give them leave to attack the Duke of *Burgundy* in his Camp, not queſtioning but that they ſhould defeat him, and oblige him to accept of what Terms his Maſteſty ſhould propoſe ; but the King would not hear of it, and upon pain of Death forbid them to attempt any thing againſt him. And from that time to the 12th of *October* there was a great Diſcourſe of the King's having made a Truce with the Duke of *Burgundy* till the *April* following ; and upon the Hopes of that Truce, the King reſolv'd to return from *Compeigne* to *Creil* and *Ponthoiſe* ; wherefore he ſent his Harbingers before to prepare his Lodgings, but afterwards he alter'd his Reſolutions, and went in great haſte from *Compeigne* to *Noyon*, where he had been but a little time before. In the mean time *Philip de Savoy*, *Poncet de Riviere*, the Lord *du Lau*, and ſeveral others that were Confederate with 'em,

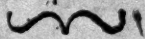
A. D.

1468.

A. D. 1468. did abundance of Mischief. And on *Saturday* the 8th of *October* a Proclamation was issu'd out, commanding all the Nobility and Gentry within the Precincts of *Paris*, that held any Lands or Tenures by Homage or Fealty, of the Crown, to be ready in Arms at *Gonnesse*, and to march from thence on the *Monday* following, where-ever they should be commanded; at which several Persons at *Paris* were astonish'd, believing by this Preparation, that no Truce had been made. After this the King left *Noyon*, and the Duke of *Burgundy* set out from the Army for *Peronne*, whither the King, attended only by the Duke of *Bourbon*, the Cardinal *d'Angiers*, and a few of the Officers of his Household, went immediately to pay the Duke of *Burgundy* a Visit, who receiv'd him with all the Respect and Honour imaginable, as in Duty he was oblig'd to do; and after a long Conference together, the Difference that was between them was amicably adjusted. The Duke of *Burgundy* on his Part swore Homage to the King, and vow'd never to attempt any thing against his Majesty for the future; and the King confirm'd and ratify'd the Treaty of *Arras*, and several other things; upon which a Courier was immediately dispatch'd to acquaint the Nobility, Gentry, and Commonalty with the News of this Accommodation, and to order the Bishop of *Paris* to cause a general Procession to be made, and *Te Deum* to be sung in *Nostre Dame* Church, which was accordingly perform'd; and the Night concluded with Bone-fires, Fountains running with Wine, and the usual Solemnities on such Occasions. In the mean-time News came that the *Liegeois* had taken and kill'd their Bishop, and all his Officers;

cers; at which the King, the Duke of *Burgundy*, and the Duke of *Bourbon* were extremely concern'd, and there was great Talk that the King and the Duke of *Burgundy* would go in Person to destroy the *Liegeois* and ruin their Country, to be reveng'd on 'em for their late barbarous Action of murdering their Bishop. But immediately the News of the Bishop's Death was contradicted; however the *Liegeois* oblig'd him to say Mass, and afterwards humbly submitted to him, and acknowledg'd him for their Sovereign Lord; being willing to put an End to those Calamities and Misfortunes they had already brought upon themselves.

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ABOUT this time the King went to *Hall* in *Germany*, where he made but a short stay; during which, at the Duke of *Burgundy's* Intercession, he pardon'd *Philip de Savoy* and the rest of his Confederates, and receiv'd 'em into his Favour again. From *Hall* his Majesty went to *Namur* to visit the Duke of *Burgundy*, whom he resolv'd to accompany to the Siege of *Liege*, and had his Quarters assign'd him in the Suburbs of that City during the whole Siege, which lasted some time; and he was attended by the Duke of *Bourbon*, *M. de Lyon*, *M. de Beaujeu*, and the Bishop of *Liege*, who were all Brothers. It seems the Bishop of *Liege* was sent out of the Town to wait on the Duke of *Burgundy*, in order to make Terms of Capitulation with him in behalf of the *Liegeois*, who offer'd to surrender the Town and all that was in it, provided he would spare the Lives of the Inhabitants; but he would not grant them those Conditions, vowing to sacrifice his whole Army rather than not force them to surrender at Discretion, and order'd the Bishop of *Liege* to be detain'd; not-



A. D. 1468. withstanding he told him, he had solemnly promis'd the *Liegeois* to return into the City, and live and die with them, if he could not obtain any honourable Conditions for them. As soon as the *Liegeois* were inform'd that the Duke of *Burgundy* had detain'd their Bishop against his Will, they made several Sallies upon the *Burgundians* and the King's Forces, and all they took Prisoners they put to Death. However, notwithstanding all this, on *Sunday* the 30th of *October* the Duke of *Burgundy* order'd his Men to prepare for storming the Town, which was done the same Day; and after little or no Resistance, the King, the Dukes of *Burgundy* and *Bourbon*, with the Lords *de Lyon*, *de Liege*, and *de Beaujeu*, enter'd it; out of which the greatest part of the Inhabitants that were in Health had retir'd just before the last Attack, leaving only a few Old Men, Women, Children, Priests and Nuns; whose Throats were all cut by the Soldiers, who committed a thousand other barbarous and inhuman Actions, such as ravishing the Women, and killing them afterwards, defiling of Nuns, even in the very Churches, and murdering the Priests while they were consecrating the Host at the Altar. And not being satisfied with this Scene of Blood and Horror, they plunder'd the Town, set Fire to it, and demolish'd the Walls.

AFTER this Action was over, the King return'd to *Senlis* and *Compeigne*; where he order'd the Court of Parliament, the Exchequer, Treasurers, and the rest of the Civil Officers of his Kingdom to attend him; and upon their Arrival he made several Laws and Ordinances, and having no Design of staying there long, he

he order'd the Cardinal *d'Angiers* to acquaint A. D. them with the Terms of Accommodation be- 1468. tween him and the Duke of *Burgundy*, which were specify'd and contain'd in two and Forty Articles, which were openly read to them by the said Cardinal; who told them, that it was the King's Royal Will and Pleasure that these Articles of Peace should immediately be ratify'd and confirm'd in Parliament under such Penalties as he declar'd to them. The King having dispatch'd this Affair, drew nearer to *Paris*, but would not enter the City; however, the Duke of *Bourbon*, *M. de Lyon*, *M. de Beaujeu*, the Marquis *du Pont*, and several other great Lords came and staid there some time.

ON *Saturday* the 19th of *November* the Peace between the King and the Duke of *Burgundy* was proclaim'd by sound of Trumpet in all the publick Streets in *Paris*. At the same time there was another Proclamation issued out by the King's Order, commanding every Body for the future not to speak against, or reflect upon the Duke of *Burgundy*, either by Speeches, Signs, Pictures, Libels or scandalous Verses, under very severe Penalties, which were explain'd and specify'd in the said Edict.

IN *February* the Duke of *Burgundy's* Ambassadors arriv'd at *Paris*, to hasten the signing the Articles of Peace that was concluded between the King and him; upon which the King wrote expressly to the Mayor, and the rest of the Civil Magistrates of *Paris* to treat and entertain them handsomly, and his Majesty's Orders were punctually obey'd; and the Ambassadors were nobly entertain'd and feasted. In the mean time the Articles of Peace we have

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A. D. already mention'd were register'd in all the  
1469. Courts of *Paris*.

IN April, 1469. M. *John Balüe* Cardinal of *Angiers*, (on whom the King had in a short time conferr'd vast Riches and Honours, doing more for him than for any Prince of the Blood, and whom the Pope by his Majesty's Recommendation, had advanc'd to a Cardinal's Cap,) most shamefully betray'd the Confidence the King had repos'd in him; and having neither God in his Thoughts, nor the Honour nor Interest of the Kingdom before his Eyes, basely betray'd his Majesty into the Duke of *Burgundy's* Hands at *Peronne*; where he advis'd him to that ignominious Peace, which was there concluded between them, and then perswaded him to accompany the Duke of *Burgundy* to the Siege of *Liege*, which had taken up Arms against him purely upon the King's Account: so that in short, his Majesty's going thither was the chief Occasion of the Ruin and Desolation of the poor *Liegeois*. But to aggravate the Matter, the King, the Duke of *Bourbon*, and the rest of the Nobility that attended his Majesty, were very near being all kill'd or taken; which would have been the greatest Blow the Kingdom of *France* had ever receiv'd since its first Establishment. The Cardinal not being contented with this piece of Villany, immediately contrives how to act a greater; and therefore upon the King's Return to *Paris*, in his way to *Tours*, he uses his utmost Endeavours to induce his Majesty to fall out with his good Citizens of *Paris*, who had hitherto express'd so much Zeal and Loyalty for his Person. After this he employ'd all his Cunning Arts and Stratagems to foment and inflame the Difference



rence that was between the King and his Brother M. *Charles*. But finding himself disappointed there, and having certain Advice that all Matters were amicably adjusted in the late Journey the King made to *Tours* and *Angiers*, and that they were perfectly reconcil'd to each other, he tries to raise Jealousies and Misunderstanding between the King and the rest of the Nobility, as he had formerly done. And in order to create as much Trouble and Confusion as possibly he could in the Kingdom; he dispatches a certain Emissary of his with Letters to the Duke of *Burgundy*, to acquaint him that the Peace or Agreement that was lately concluded between the King and his Brother M. *Charles* was directly contrary to his Interest and Advantage, and made on purpose to turn their Arms jointly against him; wherefore he advis'd him to stand upon his Guard, and immediately take the Field, to prevent their Designs. Several other Arguments he made use of to induce the Duke of *Burgundy* to invade the Kingdom of *France* with a powerful Army; but by good Fortune his Letters were seiz'd and carried to the King, who, upon the Discovery of his treacherous Designs, immediately order'd him to be sent Prisoner to *Montbason*, where he was committed to the Charge and Custody of M. *de Torcy* and several other Officers. After this the King seiz'd upon all his Goods, Lands and Chattels, of which he order'd an Inventory to be made, and also appointed M. *Tanneguy du Chastel* Governor of *Roussillon*, M. *William Cousinot*, M. *de Torcy*, and M. *Peter Doriolle*, as Commissioners to examine him. The King, some time afterwards, dispos'd of the Cardinal's Goods as his Majesty thought fit;

A. D.

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A. D. 1469. fit; his set of Plate was sold, and the Money carried into the Treasury for the King's Use; the fine Hangings of his Palace were given to the Governor of *Roussillon*; his Library to M. *Peter Doriolle*; a fine piece of Cloth of Gold, valu'd at twelve Hundred Crowns, with a great quantity of Sables and a large piece of Scarlet embroider'd with Gold, was given to M. *de Crussol*; and his Robes with a little more of his Furniture, were sold to pay the Clerks and other Officers that were employ'd to take the Inventory.

IN the mean time the King and Queen of *Sicily* came to pay a Visit to the King at *Tours* and *Amboise*, and were nobly and kindly entertain'd by his Majesty. After which, attended by the Duke of *Bourbon*, and several other Lords of his Kingdom, he made a Tour to *Niort*, *Rochelle*, and several other Places in that Neighbourhood; where he met his Brother the Duke of *Guienne*, and by the Grace of God, and the Assistance of the Blessed Virgin, a firm Union and Friendship was settled between them, to the great Joy and Satisfaction of the Kingdom; upon which *Te Deum* was order'd to be sung in *Nostre Dame Church* in *Paris*, and Bone-fires and Rejoicings were made in all the Cities and Towns in *France*; and after that the King came back to *Amboise*, where he had left the Queen, who had been very instrumental in his late Reconciliation. Some time afterwards the King resolv'd in Council to attempt the Reduction of the Earldom of *Armaignac*; and if the Enterprize succeeded, promis'd to give it to his Brother the Duke of *Guienne*, and in order to reduce it to his Obedience, he sent a considerable Body of Forces with  
some

some Cannon, which were to be follow'd in case of need by the whole Army. After the King had finish'd his Preparations for this Expedition, he went to *Orleans*, where he staid five or six Days, and then return'd to *Amboise* again.

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ON *Saturday* the 4th of *November*, 1469. was publish'd by sound of Trumpet in all the Streets of *Paris*, the League offensive and defensive, that was lately concluded between *France* and *Spain*, in the Presence of both the Criminal and Civil Lieutenants of that City, and the greatest part of the Examiners of the *Chastellet*. And from that time the King, the Duke of *Bourbon*, and the rest of the Nobility that attended on his Majesty, staid at *Amboise* and in that Neighbourhood till *Saturday* the 23d of *December*; upon which Day the Duke of *Guienne*, attended by all the Nobility of his Dutchy, came to wait on the King at his *Chateau de Montils* near *Tours*, where his Majesty was extremely glad to see him. And as soon as the Queen was inform'd of the Duke of *Guienne's* being there, her Majesty immediately left *Amboise*, and being attended by the Dutcheffs of *Bourbon*, her Maids of Honour, and several other Ladies of the Court, came to pay him a Visit, and to feast and entertain him. In the mean time the Country of *Armaignac* was deliver'd up into the King's Hands without any manner of Bloodshed; and the King, Queen, Duke of *Guienne*, and the Dutcheffs of *Bourbon*, spent their time at the *Chateau des Montils* in Feastings and Diversions till *Christmas*. And after the Duke of *Guienne* had taken his Leave of the King and Queen, and the whole Court, and was set out for his Dukedom, the King went back to *Rochelle*,



A. D. *chelle, St. John d'Angeli*, and other neighbour-  
 1469. ing Countries, where he call'd an Assembly of  
 the Three Estates of the Kingdom, to consult  
 about some important Affair, and to appoint  
 new Officers in the Dutchy of *Guienne*, who  
 might fairly and impartially administer Justice  
 to his Subjects. And after the King had set-  
 tled that Affair, he return'd to *Amboise*, where  
 he staid some time; during which he sent his  
 Ambassadors to the Duke of *Bretagne* with the  
 Order of *St. Michael*, which he had lately in-  
 stituted, as he had done to several other Lords  
 of his Kingdom: But the Duke of *Bretagne* at  
 first refus'd the Honour his Majesty design'd  
 him, and would not wear it, pretending he  
 could not take the Oath belonging to that Or-  
 der, having already accepted of that of the  
*Golden Fleece* from the Duke of *Burgundy*, and  
 was become his Friend and Confederate in  
 Arms; at which the King being highly in-  
 cens'd, and not without Cause, immediately  
 order'd a considerable Body of his Men at  
 Arms and Archers with some Cannon and  
 Field-pieces, to be ready to march into *Bre-  
 tagne*, and lay the Country under Contribu-  
 tion; but before those Forces were order'd to  
 march, the King gave the Duke of *Bretagne*  
 ten Days time to consider of it, and to acquaint  
 his Majesty with his Resolutions.

ON *Wednesday* the 13th of *February* was pub-  
 lish'd in all the publick Streets of *Paris* the  
 King's Mandate, by which his Majesty ac-  
 quainted the Mayor of *Paris*, that he had re-  
 ceiv'd certain Advice from *England*, that King  
*Edward IV.* and the Nobility, Gentry and  
 Commonalty, with whom that King had been  
 in Wars for some time, were reconcil'd to each  
 other,

other, and that they had unanimously agreed A. D. in Parliament to invade the Kingdom of *France* 1469. with a powerful Army; wherefore the King, (in order to oppose and prevent their Designs,) had commanded the *Ban* and the *Arriere-Ban* to be rais'd, and order'd the Mayor of *Paris* forthwith to summon all Nobles and not Nobles, all the priviledg'd Persons and not priviledg'd Persons, within the Precincts of that City, holding any Lands by Homage or Fealty of the Crown, to be ready in Arms on the first of *March* following, on Pain of Imprisonment and Confiscation of Goods. By the same Letters Patents the Mayor of *Paris* and all other Officers belonging to the King were forbidden under the same severe Penalties to admit of any Excuse or Certificate from any Persons whatsoever holding Lands or Tenures by Homage or Fealty of the Crown; and that whosoever should refuse to obey the Summons, should be look'd upon as Enemies to the King and Government, and be punish'd as Rebels and Traitors to their Country. On the same Day News was brought to *Paris* that the Duke of *Burgundy* was seen in *Ghent* with a Red Cross and Garter upon one of his Legs, which was the Order of *Edward IV.* King of *England*; upon which the Duke of *Burgundy* was immediately declar'd an Enemy to the Kingdom, and look'd upon as an *Englishman*.

IN *May*, 1470. the Earl of *Warwick* and the Duke of *Clarence* with their Ladies, who had been driven out of *England* by *Edward IV.* with a slender Retinue, and some Ships landed at *Honnesfleur* and *Harefleur* in *Normandy*; where they were kindly receiv'd and entertain'd by the Admiral of *France*, who lodg'd the Earl of *Warwick*, A. D. 1470.

A. D. 1470. *Warwick*, the Duke of *Clarence*, the Count de *Vuaſonfort*, the Ladies, and ſome of the chief of their Retinue in his own Palace; and took Care to have their Ships laid up ſafely in the Harbours of *Honneſleur* and *Harſleur*. A little after the Ladies and their Attendants remov'd to *Valoignes*, where fine Apartments were prepar'd for them.

AS ſoon as the Duke of *Burgundy* had Advice of the Earl of *Warwick's* Arrival in *France*, he immediately ſent Letters to the Parliament to let them know, he was inform'd that the King had favourably receiv'd and entertain'd the Earl of *Warwick* in ſome of his Towns in *Normandy*, which was acting directly contrary to the Treaty that was concluded at *Peronne* between his Maſteſty and him; and humbly deſir'd the Court of Parliament that they would make the King ſenſible of this Infringement, and perſuade him not to countenance the Earl of *Warwick* and his Party, whom he had declar'd were Enemies to the Kingdom; otherwiſe he ſhould be oblig'd to ſeize upon his Perſon where-ever he found him, though 'twas in the very Heart of *France*; however the Earl of *Warwick* ſtaid at *Honneſleur* till the latter end of *June*. In the mean time the King drew his Forces out of ſeveral Garrifons, and order'd them to march into *Normandy* and *Picardy*, where they ruin'd and deſtroy'd all the flat Country thereabouts. In the mean time the King ſtill kept about *Tours*, *Amboiſe*, *Vendosme*, and other Places thereabouts; whither the Queen of *England* and her Son the Prince of *Wales*, with ſeveral of the *English* Nobility, came to wait upon the King; and after a long Conference with his Maſteſty, the *English* return'd to *Honneſleur*,



*nefleur, Valoignes, St. Lo, and other Places in Normandy.* During these Affairs, the Duke of *Burgundy* order'd all the Effects belonging to the Merchants of *France*, that were in his Dominions, to be seiz'd, till some Restitution was made to the Merchants of his Country from whom the *English* had taken several Ships.

ON *Saturday* the last of *June*, 1470. between two and three in the Morning, the Queen was brought to Bed at the Castle of *Amboise* of a Prince, who was christen'd *Charles* by the Archbishop of *Lyons*; the Prince of *Wales*, Son to the late King of *England Henry VI.* standing Godfather, and the Dutcheſs of *Bourbon* Godmother. The Birth of this Prince occasion'd great Joy at Court, *Te Deum* was order'd to be ſung at *Paris*, and Bone-fires and Rejoicings were made in all the Cities and Towns in *France*. And ſoon after this, the King of *Sicily*, the Duke of *Guienne*, the Duke of *Bourbon*, the Lords of *Lyon* and *Beaujeu*, and ſeveral others, were ſent to *Angiers, Saumur*, and other Places thereabouts, to endeavour to accommodate Matters between the King and the Duke of *Bretagne*, where they ſtaid ſome time before they could ſettle the Point; but at laſt the Buſineſs was determin'd to the Satisfaction of both of them; upon which the Duke of *Bretagne* ſent his Ambaſſadors to the Duke of *Burgundy* to deliver up the Treaty of Alliance that had been lately made between them, and when they inform'd him of the Duke of *Bretagne*'s Reconciliation with the King, he ſeem'd highly diſpleas'd and out of Patience. In the mean time, while the Earl of *Warwick*, (whom we mention'd before,) was making all the Preparations imaginable in *Normandy*, to return  
for

A. D. for *England*; the Duke of *Burgundy* fits out a  
1470. great Fleet, and having well victuall'd and  
mann'd it with *English*, *Burgundians*, *Picardians*,  
and Seamen of other Nations, he puts to Sea;  
and sailing round by the Coast of *Normandy*,  
thought to fall in with the Earl of *Warwick's*  
Squadron near *Laire*, and fight them; but not  
finding them there, he dropt Anchor, and  
waited in Expectation of them; during which  
time the King left *Amboise*, and went a Pilgrimage to *Mount St. Michael*; and after he had  
perform'd his Devotious there, he return'd by  
*Orange*, *Tombelaine*, *Constances*, *Caen*, *Honnefleur*,  
and several other Places on the Coast of *Normandy*, where the Admiral of *France* put in to  
victual his Fleet; on which the Earl of *Warwick*, the Duke of *Clarence*, and their whole  
Retinue, went on Board, together with a few  
Archers and other Soldiers that the King had  
order'd for the Safety and Defence of their  
Persons. As soon as they were ready to set  
Sail, the poor *English*, *Burgundians*, and *Picardians*, who had lain all this time in Expectation  
of the Earl of *Warwick's* Squadron, and had  
spent all their Provision, weigh'd Anchor, and  
sail'd Home to their Duke with hungry Stomachs,  
without doing any thing; at which  
his Highness laugh'd heartily, though he had  
no Reason for it, having spent a great deal of  
Time and Money to no purpose. No sooner  
was the *Burgundian* Fleet out of sight, but the  
Earl of *Warwick*, attended as you have already  
heard, set Sail, and the Wind serving, in a  
little time arriv'd on the Coast of *England* and  
landed in the Night at *Dartmouth* or *Plymouth*; and immediately upon his Landing, he sent a  
Party of his Men ten Miles up into the Country,

try, to seize upon a Baron of the Kingdom, ACDA  
 who little dreamt of that Descent, and was 1479.  
 sleeping quietly in his Bed; but they soon  
 rous'd him, and giving him but just time to  
 put on his Cloaths, hurry'd him away to the  
 Earl of *Warwick*, who order'd him to be beheaded  
 the next Morning. After this he march'd from  
*Dartmouth* to a neighbouring Town, where he  
 was well receiv'd, and where he left his Artillery  
 and heavy Baggage when he went for *Norman-*  
*dy*. He had scarce been landed three Days,  
 and put what Forces he had with him into a  
 little Order, when threescore thousand Men  
 in Arms came voluntarily in to him, offering  
 to venture their Lives and Fortunes in his Ser-  
 vice; whereupon he immediately took the  
 Field, and march'd directly in search of King  
*Edward*, so that it was above a Fortnight from  
 the Day of his Landing, before we could hear  
 any News of him in *France*. And then the  
 King receiv'd certain Advice that the Earl of  
*Warwick* and the Duke of *Clarence* were in full  
 March with a powerful Army in search of  
 King *Edward*; and that their Affairs were in  
 such a prosperous Condition, that all the No-  
 bility, Gentry, Clergy and Commonalty of  
*England*, (but especially the People of *London*,)  
 had forsaken King *Edward*, and were come in  
 to the Earl of *Warwick*, who had deliver'd  
*Henry VI.* out of the *Tower*, where he had been  
 long a Prisoner, and re-instated him in the  
 Possession of his Kingdom. Upon which the  
 Earl of *Warwick* was made Governor and Pro-  
 tector of *England* under *Henry VI.* and imme-  
 diately march'd into the City of *London*; where  
 the Citizens feasted and entertain'd him nobly.  
 After which, he releas'd all the *French* Prisoners,



A. D. 1470. that were in *England*, and sent them Home without any Ransom; but seiz'd upon all the Effects belonging to the Duke of *Burgundy's* Subjects. At last, King *Edward* finding himself abandon'd and forsaken by all his Subjects, leaves his Queen in *England*, and goes over to his Brother-in-Law the Duke of *Burgundy*, with a very slender Retinue, to solicit Troops and Money to recover his Kingdom.

AFTER this the King wrote Letters to *Paris* to acquaint them that the Queen of *England*, Wife to *Henry VI.* the Prince of *Wales* and his Princess Daughter to the Earl of *Warwick*, the Countess of *Warwick* her Mother, the Lady *Wiltshire*, and several other Ladies of the *English* Court, were coming to *Paris* attended by the Counts d'*En*, de *Vendosme*, de *Dunois*, Monsieur de *Chaillon*, and several other Noblemen and Persons of Quality; and that it was his Majesty's Command, that the Bishop, University, Court of Parliament, and the Mayor and Aldermen of *Paris* in their Robes and Formalities, should go out and meet them, and compliment the Queen of *England* in his Name.

SOON after this, the Queen, the Dutchess of *Bourbon*, the Maids of Honour, and several other Ladies of the Court came along with his Majesty to *Paris*, where they all staid till the 26th, and then his Majesty set out from thence for *Senlis*, *Compeigne*, and the Neighbourhood of those Places, where the greatest part of his Army that was to act against the Duke of *Burgundy*, lay.

HE order'd a large Train of Artillery to be brought from *Compeigne*, *Noyon*, and elsewhere, both by Sea and Land, into *Picardy* and *Flanders*; and publish'd a Proclamation by sound of

Trum-

Trumpet in *Paris*, commanding all the Nobility and *Frank-Archers* of the *Isle of France* to be ready in Arms to follow him; and join the rest of the Army. During this time great Preparations were making at *Paris*; and a great quantity of Cannon, Ammunition and Provision were getting ready for the Army.

A. D.  
1470.

ABOUT this time, all the Handy-craftsmen in *Paris*, such as *Masons*, *Carpenters*, *Joyners*, and the like, were press'd by the King's Orders; not excepting those belonging to the Towns and Cities that had lately surrender'd to his Majesty. The Command of this Body of Work-men was given to M. *Henry de la Cloche* the King's Attorney in the *Chastellet* at *Paris*, who was a loyal Subject, and was to lead them to the Town of *Roye*, where they were to be employ'd in repairing the old Fortifications, and in making new ones; and when they had finish'd their Work there, they were employ'd in doing the same in other Towns that had lately submitted to the King, which took up a great deal of Time, and kept them employ'd till *Easter-Day*: at which time the King made a Truce for a little while with the Duke of *Burgundy*, who was closely besieg'd in his Park between *Bapaumes* and the City of *Amiens* by the King's Army; and was reduc'd to so miserable a Condition, that had it not been for the Truce, both he and his whole Army must certainly have perish'd or surrender'd themselves Prisoners at Discretion. Since the beginning of the War to the Day the Truce was agreed on, the King's Army defeated the *Burgundians* and the *Picardians* in several smart Engagements, and took a considerable Booty from them in the Dutchy of *Burgundy*; not to

A. D. 1470. mention their Incursions into the Countries of *Charolois* and *Masconnois*, where they enrich'd themselves by the Plunder they got, and took a vast Number of Prisoners, amongst whom were several Persons of Quality, who paid handfomly for their Enlargement; besides a greater Number kill'd in several Actions that happen'd between them. Some Persons of Quality on the King's side would have been prodigious Gainers by this War, had not his Majesty oblig'd them upon the Treaty to deliver up all they had taken from the Enemy; at which abundance of the Nobility that had a great Respect for the King, were highly displeas'd. During this Cessation of Arms the King, the Duke of *Guienne*, and several other Lords and Men of Quality went to *Han*, and staid there with the Constable of *France*, who was extremely proud of the Honour his Majesty did him. During the King's Abode at *Han*, several Ambassadors arriv'd from the Duke of *Burgundy*, and as many were sent by the King to the Duke of *Burgundy's* Camp; but notwithstanding all their Embassies forward and backward, 'twas a long time before they came to any Resolution. At last a Truce for one Year only was agreed upon between the King and the Duke of *Burgundy*; and Commissioners were chosen on both Sides to accommodate the Difference between them, and to terminate the Dispute between the Soldiers of each side. As soon as this Affair was settled, every one retir'd to his own House, and the Towns that had been taken before the Treaty, were garrison'd by the King's Soldiers.

ABOUT



ABOUT that time great Quarrels and Contentions arose in *England* between *Henry of Lancaster* King of *England*, the Prince of *Wales* his Son, the Earl of *Warwick*, and the rest of the Lords of the Kingdom, who were of King *Henry's* side against *Edward de la Marche*, who had usurp'd the Crown from *Henry*. This Civil War had occasion'd already abundance of Murder and Blood-shed, and was not like to be at an end yet, for in *June*, 1471, the King receiv'd certain Advice from *England*, that *Edward de la Marche* with a puissant Army of *English*, *Easterlings*, *Picardians*, *Flemings*, and other Nations that the Duke of *Burgundy* had sent him, had taken the Field, and was going to oppose King *Henry's* Forces, which were commanded by the Earl of *Warwick*, the Prince of *Wales*, and several other Lords of that Party. In short, the Battle was bravely fought, and a vast Number of Men were kill'd and wounded on both sides, but at last *Edward de la Marche* gain'd the Victory, and King *Henry's* Army, partly by the Treachery of the Duke of *Clarence*, and partly for want of Conduct, was entirely defeated. The poor Young Prince of *Wales*, who was a lovely Youth, was barbarously murder'd after the Action was over, and the valiant Earl of *Warwick* finding himself betray'd, and scorning to fly, rush'd violently into the thickest of his Enemies, and was kill'd upon the spot. Thus died this great Man, who was so desirous of serving his King and Country, and who had cost King *Henry* so much Money to bring him over and fix him in his Interest.

A. D. 1471. IN July 1471. died the Count *d'Eu*, a Person of great Wisdom, Honour and Probity, heartily devoted to the Interest of his Country, and one that faithfully serv'd the King to the utmost of his Power. Upon his Death the King took Possession of the Earldom of *Eu*, which he gave to the Constable of *France*, which was highly displeasing to his Brother the Count *de Nevers*, who thought to have enjoy'd that Earldom with the rest of his Estate after his Brother's Decease, as being his right and lawful Heir.

FROM this Month of *July* to *Christmas* nothing of Importance happen'd in the Kingdom of *France*; several Conferences indeed there were in the mean time between the Commissioners chosen on both sides, to adjust the Difference and Dispute that were between the King and the Duke of *Burgundy*, in order to settle a firm and lasting Peace.

IN the same Year the Duke of *Guienne*, after his Return from *Amiens*, began to grow a little dissatisfied with the King; and sent for the Count *d'Armaignac*, whom the King had banish'd the Kingdom at the same time that he depriv'd him of his Earldom. The Count immediately upon that Summons waits upon the Duke of *Guienne*, who gives him the greatest part of his Earldom against the King's Consent and positive Commands to the contrary.

IN *May* the Duke of *Calabria*, Nephew to the King of *Sicily* and *Jerusalem*, and to whom the King had offer'd his eldest Daughter in Marriage, leaves his Dutchy of *Lorrain*, and goes in Person to the Duke of *Burgundy's* Court, to treat of a Marriage with his Daughter; which was very strangely and unaccountably done of him,

him, (after the Honour which the King, who was his sovereign Lord, had design'd him,) to think of marrying the Duke of *Burgundy's* Daughter, who was only a Subject and a Vassal to the King. But before this, the Duke of *Burgundy* had often made War in *France* in Favour of the Duke of *Guienne*; pretending his Design was to give him his Daughter in Marriage, but he never intended it, and did quite the contrary, deluding him as he had done several other Lords with fair Promises and Hopes of that Match.

A. D.

1471.

ON *Thursday* the 14th, 1472, the King receiv'd certain Advice from M. *Malicorne* a great Favourite of the Duke of *Guienne's*, that his Master was dead at *Bordeaux*. And immediately after M. *de Craon*, M. *Peter Doriolle* General of the Finances, M. *Oliver le Roux*, and the rest of the Ambassadors that were sent to the Duke of *Burgundy* return'd, and gave the King an Account of their Negotiation, and the Truce which was prolong'd till the 15th of *June* following. However, the Duke of *Burgundy*, notwithstanding the Truce, took the Field with his Army, and fortified his old Post between *Arras* and *Bapaumes* in a Place call'd *Hubterne* in *Artois*.

A. D.

1472.

AFTER this the Duke of *Burgundy* still continued to play his mad Pranks; and went on in his old obstinate Ways, as he had formerly done. On *Tuesday* the 11th of *June*, 1472. he sent a great Detachment of his Forces to summon *Nesle*, in which there was one nam'd *le Petit Picart*, that commanded five hundred *Frank-Archers* of the *Isle of France*, who refus'd to obey his Summons; and sent him Word, that he would defend the Town and Castle to



A. D. the last Extremity; upon which the *Burgundians* made several Attacks, but were always repuls'd by Captain *Picart* and his Garrison. 1472. The next Day about five in the Morning the Countess of *Nesle* attended by Captain *Picart* and the chief of the Town went out to wait on the Bastard of *Burgundy* who commanded that Detachment, in order to capitulate and make some honourable Terms for the Garrison. At last the Bastard of *Burgundy* agreed to spare their Lives, provided they would immediately surrender the Town, and march out with leaving their Arms, Horses, Bag and Baggage behind; to which they were forc'd to submit. Upon their Return, they acquainted the Garrison with what hard Terms they must submit to; and accordingly Captain *Picart* having drawn up his Men in a Body in the Market-place, commands them to dismount and lay down their Arms, and imprudently delivers up the Town to the *Burgundians* before the Articles of Capitulation were sign'd. No sooner were the *Burgundians* Masters of the Town, but they immediately fell upon the Garrison who were naked and unarm'd, and kill'd several of them; not sparing even those that fled to the Church for Protection, without any manner of Regard to the Promise they had made them to spare their Lives. Towards the latter end of this barbarous and inhuman Action the Bastard of *Burgundy* enter'd the Church on Horse-back, which swom in Blood, and when he beheld the Pavement all strew'd with the dead Bodies of these poor Wretches, he said 'twas a glorious sight, and was pleas'd to find he had such good Butchers in his Company. Neither did his Thirst of Blood and Vengeance cease here,

here, for the next Day he order'd the Captain A. D.  
to be hang'd, and the Town to be set on Fire. 1472.  
After this glorious Expedition, they march'd  
the next Day, which was *Sunday*, to *Roye*, in  
which there was a strong Garrison, consisting  
of fourteen hundred Archers, commanded by  
*Peter Aubert Bailiff of Meleun and Nagon*. Besides  
these Forces, there were several Volunteers  
and Captains of the Army; and amongst the  
rest *Loisel de Balagny* Governor of *Beauvais*, *M.*  
*de Mouy*, the Lord *de Rubempré*, and several  
others, who had with them about two hundred  
Lances well arm'd and mounted. However,  
the King had just before caus'd the old Forti-  
fications of the Town to be repair'd, and new  
ones to be made, which had added considera-  
ble strength to the Place, and had provided it  
with every thing necessary for a long Defence;  
yet they surrender'd the Town on the 16th of  
*May* to the *Burgundians* and march'd shamefully  
out, leaving their Cannon, Horses, Arms,  
Bag and Baggage behind them, after the King  
had been at the Expence of a hundred thou-  
sand Crowns of Gold in erecting Magazines,  
and putting it into a Posture of Defence. After  
the Duke of *Burgundy* had turn'd out the King's  
Garrison in this naked and miserable Condi-  
tion, he took Possession of the Town; and af-  
ter some stay there, he came before *Beauvais*,  
which he likewise summon'd, and upon their  
refusing to surrender, he resolv'd to besiege it,  
and immediately upon his Arrival, which was on  
*Saturday* the 27th of *June*, 1472. he commanded  
his Soldiers to storm it on every side; but they  
were bravely repuls'd by the Inhabitants of the  
same Place. The very same Night *William de*  
*Valce* the Seneschal of *Normandy's* Lieutenant,  
came

A. D. 1472. came to their Relief with a Re-inforcement of two hundred Lances, just as the *Burgundians* were going to make a vigorous Attack; upon which, they mounted the Walls, and repuls'd the *Burgundians*, who little expected so warm a Reception. The next Day M. de Crussol, Joachim Rouault Marshal of France, M. de Bueil, Guerin le Groing, M. de Torcy, and several other Noblemen of Normandy, with a strong Detachment arriv'd there also; who behav'd themselves handsomly during the whole Siege, and gave signal Marks of their Courage and Conduct. The *Parisians* were serviceable also to the Besieged, and constantly supply'd them with Ammunition and Provision; and during the Siege several warm Disputes and bloody Actions happen'd between the *Burgundians* and the King's Troops, in which several of the former were kill'd and wounded.

ON Thursday the 2d of July the Lord de Rubempré arriv'd at Paris from Beauvais, and brought Letters from the Governour of that Place directed to M. Gaucourt the King's Lieutenant of Paris, and to the Mayor and Aldermen, in which he acquainted them with the miserable Condition that the Duke of *Burgundy* and his whole Army was reduc'd to; that a Half-penny Loaf was sold for three Pence in their Camp; that the Duke of *Burgundy* himself was grown desperate; and was resolv'd to have the Town, tho' with the Loss and Ruin of his whole Army; and therefore begg'd of them that they would immediately send him some of their Field-pieces, a Body of their Cross-Bow-Men, and a Supply of Provision and Ammunition; which were accordingly sent him under a Guard of threescore Cross-Bow-Men of Paris commanded



ded by the Bastard *Rochouart* Lord of *Merv.* And on *Thursday* the 9th of *July* about seven in the Morning, the Duke of *Burgundy* began to batter the Town-Wall over against the Gate of the *Hôtel de Dieu* with all his great and small Cannon; and having made a Breach, order'd his Men to fill up the Ditch with Bayns, Timber and Hurdles, and to be ready with their Scaling-Ladders; which Orders were instantly perform'd, and a Party of *Burgundians* came with great Boldness and Resolution, and furiously attack'd that part of the Wall that was opposite to the *Hôtel de Dieu*, but they were warmly receiv'd, and repuls'd by M. *Robert Destouteville* Lord of *Beyne* and Mayor of *Paris*, who was posted there with some of the King's Troops. This Attack lasted from seven in the Morning till eleven; during which Action the *Burgundians* had fifteen or sixteen hundred Men kill'd and wounded, and the Number would have been greater, and their Loss more considerable, had not all the Gates facing the *Burgundian* Army been so strongly barricadoed, that in the Hurry and Confusion of the storming the Town, they could not get them open to make a Sally and fall upon the Enemy at the same time; at which all the Noblemen and Officers were extremely concern'd, for if they could have come handsomly to have engag'd them, they would certainly have made a terrible Slaughter among them: for at that time the Garrison consisted of fourteen or fifteen thousand Men, commanded by the Count de *Dampmartin*, *Joachim Ronault* Marshal of France, *Sallazart*, *William de Valce*, *Mery de Coue*, *Guerin le Groing*, the Lords de *Beyne* and *Torcy*, and several other experienc'd Officers of Note and Quality.

A. D.

1472.

A. D.

1472.



Quality. During the whole Action, the Besieged lost but four Men, and that thro' their own Rashness, as the Report goes; neither did the *Burgundians* from their first investing the Town to the 9th of *July*, kill any more than four Soldiers with their Cannon, notwithstanding their constant firing from their Batteries. The next Day after the Attack, *M. Denis Hesselin* Mayor of *Paris* sent another Body of Cross-Bow-Men to *Beauvais* with Arms, Ammunition, Provision, and some Surgeons to dress and take Care of the Sick and Wounded.

ON *Friday* the 10th of *July*, which was the next Day after the Attack, *Sallazart* with a Brigade of his own Regiment sallies out of *Beauvais*; and by break of Day gets into the *Burgundian* Camp, where they kill'd all they met with, and burnt three fine Tents with all that was in them, in one of which there were two Men of Quality kill'd that offer'd a vast Sum of Money to save their Lives. At last, the whole Camp took the Alarm, and his Soldiers shouting out, *A Sallazart, a Sallazart*, made the *Burgundians* immediately run to their Arms, and in a Moments time were ready with a considerable Body to oppose him; upon which *Sallazart* thought fit to retire, which he did in very good Order, and brought with him to *Beauvais* two pieces of Cannon, one of which was a fine Brass-Cannon nam'd one of the twelve Peers, that the King lost at the Battle of *Mont l'Hery*, and the rest that they could not bring off, they flung into a Ditch by the way. *Sallazart* was closely pursu'd, and receiv'd several Wounds; his Horse was also wounded in several Places of the Body; however he made a shift to carry him to *Beauvais*, where

where he dropt down dead immediately upon Arriyal there. From that Sally to the 21st of July no great Action happen'd on either side. A. D. 1472.

ON *Wednesday* the Feast of *St. Magdalen* the Duke of *Burgundy* shamefully rais'd the Siege of *Beauvais*; after having lain twenty Days before it, and bombarding it Night and Day without doing any considerable Damage to the Town, or killing many Men. Twice in that time indeed he attempted to storm the Place, but was as often repuls'd; and in both Actions lost a considerable Number of Men, amongst the rest several Persons of Note and Distinction. In his Retreat he lost the greatest part of his Artillery, which, the Garrison of *Amiens* who fell upon his Rear, took from him. The Duke of *Burgundy* being disappointed in his Design of taking *Beauvais*, grew desperate; and commanded his Army to burn the standing Corn, and to destroy and set on fire all the Towns and Villages thro' which they march'd, in their way to *St. Valery* near *Crotoy*, which was immediately surrender'd to him, there being but a small Garrison in it, and the Place it self not being capable of making a long Defence against such a powerful Army. From thence they march'd to *Eu*, which was also surrender'd to him on the same Account. On *Wednesday* the 29th of *July* the Constable of *France* with several other Officers of the Garrison of *Beauvais* march'd out with eight hundred Lances, and took the Rout towards *Arques* and *Monstier-villier* in the County of *Caux*, to intercept the *Burgundians*, who, 'twas believ'd, would march that way; and so they did, and encamp'd between that Place, *Eu* and *Dieppe*, near a Village call'd *Ferriers*, where they lay a long



A. D. long time without doing any thing, except  
 1472. taking the new Castle of *Nicourt*, which made  
 no Resistance. After staying there three Days;  
 and upon their Retreat they set fire to the  
 Town and Castle, which was a thousand Pi-  
 ties, for it was a fine Town and Castle, and  
 capable of being made a Place of great Strength.  
 After this the Duke of *Burgundy* set Fire to  
*Longueville*, *Faby*, and several other Towns and  
 Villages in the Bailiwick of *Caux*, and all the  
 mighty Actions his Army perform'd from their  
 raising the Siege of *Beauvais* to the first of *De-*  
*cember*, 1472. was only burning and destroying  
 where-ever they came. In the mean time the  
 King, who was in *Bretagne* with an Army of  
 fifty thousand Men, lay still and did nothing;  
 being wheedled and cajol'd by the smooth  
 Words and fair Promises of the Duke of *Bur-*  
*gundy's* Ambassadors, who still flatter'd him  
 with the Hopes of Peace; besides, his Maje-  
 sty was tender of the Lives of his Subjects, and  
 was willing on any reasonable Terms to pre-  
 vent the Effusion of Christian Blood; not de-  
 lighting in War and Slaughter, as the Duke of  
*Burgundy* did, who had already given a suffi-  
 cient Demonstration of his bloody and revenge-  
 ful Temper, by the many cruel and inhuman  
 Actions he had committed, and the Barbarities  
 he was daily guilty of. After the Duke of *Bur-*  
*gundy* was return'd from *Caux*, where he had  
 burnt and destroy'd every thing, as you have  
 already heard, and had been vigorously re-  
 puls'd before *Arques* and *Dieppe*; he broke up  
 from that Country and march'd to *Roan*, where  
 he met with a warmer Reception than he had  
 hitherto found before any Town he had alrea-  
 dy besieg'd; so that after some time spent in  
 vain,

vain, and a great Number of his Men being kill'd and wounded by frequent Sallies, he was at last forc'd to abandon the Siege, and shamefully march off towards *Abbeville*; upon which there was a Report, that he design'd to form the Siege of *Noyon*, whereupon the Lord *de Crussol* and several other of the King's Officers were immediately sent thither with a good Body of Troops to garrison the Town; who order'd some new Works to be thrown up, on which they planted a fine Train of Artillery, and supplied it with Ammunition, Provision, and whatever else was necessary for the putting the Place in a good Posture of Defence. But after all these Preparations, the *Burgundians* never invested the Town; however, it suffer'd considerably on their Account, for the Officers were oblig'd to burn down the Suburbs to hinder them from making a Lodgment there.

A. D.  
1472.

ABOUT this time there was a Discourse that the *Burgundians* were marching towards *Lorraine* and *Barrois*; upon which the King sent a Detachment of five hundred Lances, with all the Nobles of the Isle of *France* and *Normandy*, besides a great Number of *Frank-Archers* under the Command of *M. de Craon* his Lieutenant-General, which were quarter'd in several Towns in *Champagne*, where they lay above two Months, and then march'd back without doing any thing.

A. D.  
1473.

IN the mean time the Duke of *Burgundy* prevail'd with the Emperor of *Germany* to go as far as *Luxembourg*, and from thence to the City of *Mets*; to persuade the Inhabitants to admit of a *Burgundian* Garrison, but his Imperial Majesty finding them utterly averse to it, return'd to *Luxembourg*, and from thence to *Germany*.

ABOUT

A. D. 1473. ABOUT the same time the Duke of *Burgundy* sent an Agent to *Venice* to borrow Money of the *Venetians* to pay the six hundred Lances belonging to that State, which he had agreed to take into his Service for three Months. They were forc'd to march thro' the *Dutchy of Milan*, and from thence to Upper *Burgundy*, being too weak to engage the King's Army, which was posted on the Frontiers of *Burgundy*, and hinder'd them from joining the Duke of *Burgundy's* Forces any other way.

At the same time the King marry'd his eldest Daughter *Anne* of *France*, who was offer'd to the late Duke of *Calabria*, to M. de *Beaujeu* the Duke of *Bourbon's* Brother.

ABOUT this time the Duke of *Burgundy*, partly by Treason, and partly by Surprise, enter'd *Nivernois*, where he took several Places from the Duke of *Nevers*, as *Roche*, *Chastillon*, &c. At that time also the King's Ambassadors that had been assembled before at *Senlis*, met together at *Compeigne* in hopes of finding the Duke of *Burgundy's* Ambassadors there according to their Appointment, but they did not come; so that after a long stay there to no purpose, the King's Ambassadors return'd to *Paris*, afterwards they went back again to *Compeigne* in *January*, and staid there till the 5th.

ABOUT the 20th of *January*, 1473. the Constable of *France*, who had turn'd the Lord de *Creton* and the whole Garrison out of *St. Quintin*, and took Possession of it for himself, made his Peace with the King, and his Majesty was very well reconcil'd to him; and by the Agreement that was concluded between them, the Constable was to remain in *St. Quintin*, and to have *Meaux* and several other Places that the



the King had taken from him, restor'd again ; A. D.  
Commissioners were likewise appointed by the 1473.  
King's Order to enquire after those Persons  
that had spoken reflectingly of the Constable  
concerning the Seizure of St. *Quintin*, in or-  
der to have them severely punish'd ; he had  
also a great Sum of Money remitted for the  
Payment of his Troops, which was stop'd im-  
mediately after the taking of St. *Quintin*. About  
this time the King came from *Amboise* to *Senlis*,  
and staid some time in that Neighbourhood ;  
during which the King's Ambassadors and those  
of the Duke of *Burgundy* held several Confe-  
rences, and at last a Truce was agreed upon  
till the Middle of *May*, in hopes that Matters  
might be so order'd in that time, as to have a  
firm and lasting Peace concluded between  
their two Masters.

ON *Wednesday* the 20th of *April*, 1474. the A. D.  
King order'd all the Officers, Citizens and In- 1474.  
habitants of *Paris* to be review'd ; which was  
accordingly done, and they were all in Arms,  
and drawn up in Order without the Gates of  
*Paris*, from the *Bastille St. Anthoine* all along the  
Town-Ditch as far as the Tower of *Billy*, and  
from thence to the *Grange-aux-Merciers*. On  
the other side also they were drawn up in the  
same Order of Battle and made a gallant Ap-  
pearance in their Red Coats with White  
Crosses, and were computed to be in all about  
fourscore thousand Men, including those that  
belong'd to the Train of Artillery, of which  
there was a great store brought out into the  
Field that Day. The King, attended by the  
Count de *Dampmartin*, (who made a great Fi-  
gure that Day) *Philip de Savoy*, *M. du Perche*,  
*Sallazart*, and several other general Officers of  
H h h the

A. D. 1474. the Army, with all his Guards, was at the Review. The King of Arragon's Ambassadors were also there to wait upon his Majesty; and were extremely surpris'd to see one City produce such a vast Number of Men in Arms. After the Review was over, the King went to *Bois de Vincennes* to Supper, and took the Ambassadors along with him; and some time after presented the two chief ones with two Gold Cups richly emboss'd, that weigh'd forty Marks of Gold, and cost three thousand two hundred Crowns, and after that his Majesty return'd to *Senlis*, where he staid some time; during which he receiv'd two Embassies, one from the Duke of *Bretagne*, and the other from the Emperor of *Germany*; the chief Ambassador of the last Embassy was the Duke of *Bavaria*, and the chief of the first was *Philip des Essars* Lord of *Tbieux*, the Duke of *Bretagne*'s Steward of his Household, who had formerly declar'd himself against the King; however his Majesty laying aside all Animosities, receiv'd him very kindly, gave him a Present of ten thousand Crowns, and made him Inquisitor-General and Justice in *Eyre*, of *Brie* and *Champagne*, turning *M. de Chastillon* out of that Post on purpose to oblige the said *Philip des Essars*.

ABOUT the same time of the King's being at *Senlis*, *Erménonville*, and thereabouts; the Duke of *Burgundy* sent his Ambassadors to wait on his Majesty, who staid there a great while, but did nothing, and presently afterwards the King went to *Compiègne*, *Noyon*, and several other Places in that Neighbourhood, where the Constable of *France* came to wait on the King in order to adjust some Difference that was between them. The King and he had an Interview

view in the open Field near a certain Village thereabouts, and both were attended by a strong Guard for the Security of their Persons. The Constable of *France* having thus made his Peace with the King, who generously forgave and pardon'd all his rebellious Actions; he solemnly swore never to be guilty of the like for the future, but henceforward to obey and serve the King, as a loyal and dutiful Subject ought to do, against all Invaders and Opposers whatsoever.

A. D.  
1474.

ABOUT this time the King, who had a singular Love for his People, and was willing to prevent the Effusion of Christian Blood, prolong'd the Truce with the Duke of *Burgundy* his mortal Enemy for another Year; and in April 1475. though he had receiv'd several Embassies from the Emperor of *Germany*, humbly to entreat his Majesty, not to make any longer Truce with him, but that he would give him leave to enter his Territories by Force of Arms, and make him submit to what Terms his Majesty should offer: promising moreover, that whatever Conquests or Acquisitions he should make in any of the Duke of *Burgundy's* Dominions, should be made over to the King without putting him to the Expence of either Men or Money. But notwithstanding all these advantageous Offers, a Truce was concluded between the King and the Duke of *Burgundy*, who immediately broke it, and committed several Acts of Hostility, ruining and destroying abundance of the King's Subjects living in those Countries that border'd upon his Dominions, for which he never made any Reparation, and which was look'd upon to be a base and audacious Action, for a Vassal thus to ruin the



A. D. Countries and Subjects of his sovereign Lord  
1474. and Master.

ABOUT this time the Duke of *Burgundy*, (whose restless Ambition would not suffer him to sit still,) had invaded some part of *Germany*, and besieg'd *Nuz*, a large and strong Town; situated upon the *Rhine* near *Cologne*, before which Place he lay a considerable time with his whole Army, and all his Artillery. Not long after this, the *Burgundians* surpriz'd a Town in *Gastinois* call'd *Molins en Gibers*, whither his Majesty also sent another Body of Forces with some Cannon, in order to retake it. In short, the Duke of *Burgundy* and his Allies, (notwithstanding the Truce,) still continu'd to make Incursions into the King's Dominions, to seize his Towns whenever they had an Opportunity, and to ruin and destroy his Subjects.

ABOUT this time *Edward IV.* King of *England* sent his Heralds to the King, to demand the Dutchies of *Guienne* and *Normandy*, which he claim'd as his lawful Right; and upon Refusal to declare War against him. The King return'd a very civil Answer by the Heralds and also sent King *Edward* the finest Horse he had in his Stable, as a Present.

IN *February* following the *Germans*, who were besieg'd in *Nuz*, by the Assistance of the Inhabitants of *Cologne*, and some other *Germans* of the Circle of *Austria*, found out a way to throw some Provisions into the Town in spite of the Duke of *Burgundy*, who kept it closely besieg'd, and had caus'd several large Vessels well mann'd to come up the *Rhine* in order to intercept the Convoy; but to no purpose, for it safely arriv'd in the Town, and all his Ships,  
(in

(in which were about six or seven thousand *Burgundians*, who were all drown'd) were sunk or split in Pieces, and besides those, a vast Number of them had already been kill'd before *Nuz*. A. D. 1474.

ABOUT the same time the City of *Perpignan* was surrender'd to the King, on Condition that the Garrison should march out with their Arms, Horses, Bag and Baggage, leaving only their Artillery, of which they had a very fine Train, for the King's Use.

ON the 7th of *April*, 1475. the League that was lately concluded between the Emperor and the King, was publish'd in *Paris*; but first of all the King order'd it to be proclaim'd before the Lodgings of *M. du Maine*, the Duke of *Calabria*, and the Duke of *Bretagne's* Ambassadors. In the same Month the King receiv'd two Embassies, one from the Duke of *Tuscany*, and the other from the Emperor of *Germany*; and the Ambassadors were nobly treated and entertain'd not only by the King, but by all the Nobility of the Court. In the beginning of *May* the King attended by the Admiral of *France*, and the other Officers of the Kingdom, set out from *Paris* for *Vernon* on the *Seine*, whither his Majesty went to consult about the Military Operations of the ensuing Campaign, the Truce being expir'd on the last Day of *April*, and from whence he return'd to *Paris* on the 14th of the same Month. A. D. 1475.

ON the Feast of the *Holy Cross* the King's Army invested *Montdidier*, which had also refus'd to surrender upon the Summons, but afterwards they consider'd better of it; and finding the King's Forces were actually preparing to storm the Town, on *Friday* the 5th of *April* they beat the *Chamade*, and offer'd to surrender

A. D. 1475. provided they might march out, and be safely conducted to the next garrison. Town belonging to the Duke of *Burgundy*, which was granted on Condition of leaving their Horses, Arms, Bag and Baggage behind them; so the King's Troops immediately took Possession of the Town, which they afterwards demolish'd, as they did *Tronquoy*.

ON *Saturday* the 6th of *May* the Town of *Roye* and the Castle of *Moreul* was surrender'd to the King upon the same Terms. The taking of these Towns in so short a time by the King's Army, struck such a Terror into the Duke of *Burgundy's* Subjects, that they either fled before it or else came in and join'd it: so that the King's Army being daily augmented by the *Burgundian* Troops that came over to them, all the Cities and Towns in *Burgundy*, *Flanders*, and *Picardy* were soon reduc'd to the King's Obedience.

IN *July*, notwithstanding the News that the Constable of *France* had written to the King, his Majesty receiv'd Advice from the Emperor, that he had thrown a fresh Supply of Troops into *Nuz*; had taken out all the Sick and Wounded; and provided the Town with Provisions and all other Necessaries for a Year longer; and that some Action had happen'd between his Forces and the Duke of *Burgundy's*, in which the latter had lost a great part of his Artillery, Plate and Money, which was sent to pay his Army. On *Tuesday* the 27th of *June* the Admiral of *France*, whom the King order'd to march with a Body of Men into *Flanders* and *Picardy* to plunder and destroy the Countries with Fire and Sword, drew near *Arras*; and having plac'd his Men in an Ambuscade, he order'd



order'd forty Men at Arms to advance towards A. D.  
 the City-Gates; upon which part of the Gar- 1475.  
 rison of *Arras* immediately sallies out and at-  
 tacks them, who according to their Orders re-  
 tir'd to the Place where the rest of their De-  
 tachment lay in Ambush, who all on a sudden  
 fell so furiously upon the *Burgundians*, that they  
 entirely broke and defeated them, several of  
 whom were kill'd, and abundance taken Priso-  
 ners, and among the latter M. *James de St. Paul*  
 Governor of *Arras*, and several other Per-  
 sons of Note and Distinction, whom the Ad-  
 miral of *France* carried with him when he went  
 to summon the City; and told the Inhabitants,  
 that if they would not instantly surrender the  
 Town to the King who was their lawful Sove-  
 reign, he would certainly behead their Gover-  
 nor and the rest of the Men of Quality he had  
 taken Prisoners.

ON *Tuesday* the 29th of *August* the King at-  
 tended by the Duke of *Bourbon*, M. de *Lyon*, and  
 several other Persons of Quality, besides a vast  
 Number of Officers of the Army consisting of  
 a hundred thousand Horse march'd from *Amiens*  
 to *Picquigny*, which was the Place that had been  
 appointed for the Interview between his Maje-  
 sty and *Edward IV.* King of *England*, who had  
 brought with him his Van-guard and his Rear,  
 which were drawn up in Order of Battle near  
*Picquigny*. Upon *Picquigny*-Bridge the King had  
 order'd two large Pent-Houses to be erected  
 opposite to each other; one for himself, and  
 the other for the King of *England*. In the  
 middle between these two Pent-Houses was  
 built a large Wooden Grate somewhat like a  
 Lyon's Cage, about Breast-high; so that the  
 two Kings might lean over it and discourse to-  
 gether.

A. D. 1475. urther. The King of *France* came first to the Grate; upon which, an *English* Baron whom King *Edward* had commanded to wait there, for his Majesty's Arrival, was dispatch'd in all haste to acquaint King *Edward* with it, who lay strongly encamp'd with twenty thousand *English* at a Place about a League from *Picquigny*, and who came attended only by twenty Men at Arms of his Guards, who were order'd to stay on the other side of the River, at the Foot of the Bridge during the whole Conference between the two Kings. In the mean time it fell a raining prodigiously, which did a considerable Damage to the Housings and Furniture that the Nobility and Officers of the *French* Court had prepar'd on purpose for this Interview, and which were rich and magnificent. As soon as the King of *England* came within Sight of the King, he threw himself upon one Knee, and so he did twice before he came up and saluted his Majesty, who receiv'd him with all the Marks of Honour and Respect imaginable. After some Complements had pass'd between them, they began to discourse about the Affair for which this Interview was appointed, in the Presence of above a hundred Persons, among whom were the Duke of *Bourbon*, M. de *Lyon*, several other Lords, and all the chief Officers of the Finances. After they had talk'd together for about a quarter of an Hour, the King order'd every one to withdraw; and the two Kings had a private Conference, which lasted a considerable time, and when it was over, the King openly declar'd that there was a Truce concluded between 'em for seven Years, which was to begin from this Day the 29th of *August*, 1475. and end on the same

same Day, 1482. This Truce, which was soon after proclaim'd in *Paris*, and all other Cities and Towns of the Kingdom, related chiefly to Trade and Commerce; and by this Treaty the *English*, whether arm'd or unarm'd, provided they were not more than an hundred in one Company, were permitted to go and come when and where they pleas'd, all over the Kingdom of *France*. As soon as this Affair was concluded, the King order'd the seventy five thousand Crowns to be remitted to King *Edward*, made considerable Presents to some of the Lords that attended on him, and order'd Money to be given and distributed among his Trumpets and Heralds, who highly extoll'd the Bounty and Generosity of the King. The King of *France* besides all this promis'd King *Edward* to pay him fifty thousand Crowns of Gold Yearly, and nobly entertain'd the Duke of *Gloucester* the King of *England*'s Brother, to whom he also made considerable Presents. King *Edward* immediately order'd all the *English* that he had sent to re-infore the Garrisons of *Abbeville*, *Peronne*, and other Towns in the Duke of *Burgundy*'s Possession, to evacuate those Places and join the Army, with which he march'd back to *Calais*, where he embark'd for *England*. M. *Herberge* the Bishop of *Eureux* waited on King *Edward* as far as *Calais*; where he left two *English* Barons till he had sent the King something out of *England* that he had promis'd him. The Lord *Howard* was one of these Barons that were left as Pledges for Performance of King *Edward*'s Promise, and the Master of the Horse to the King was the other; they were both of them highly valu'd and esteem'd by the King of *England*, and were very

A. D.

1475.



A. D. 1475. very instrumental in concluding the late Treaty between the two Kings. When the *English* Barons took their Leave of the King, his Majesty presented them with a set of Gold and Silver Plate, and sent an Order to *Paris* to let them have what quantity of Wine they pleas'd to carry over with them into *England*, provided they paid for it.

ON *Monday* the 16th of *October*, 1475. the Truce in relation to Trade and Commerce that was concluded for Nine Years between the King and the Duke of *Burgundy*, was solemnly proclaim'd by sound of Trumpet in all the publick Streets of *Paris*, and it was to commence on the 14th of *September*, 1475. and to end on the same Day of the Month, 1482. By this Treaty all the Subjects of *Burgundy* were to have full Liberty of trading in any part of *France*, and during the Term of Nine Years to settle and live there if they pleas'd.

THE Duke of *Burgundy* having promis'd by his Ambassadors in *October* last, when the Truce was concluded between him and the King for Nine Years, to deliver up the Constable of *France* to his Majesty, was now forc'd, much against his Inclinations, to do it; and he was accordingly deliver'd up into the Hands of the Admiral of *France*, M. de St. Pierre, M. de Boucage, M. William de Cerisay, and several others, who brought him to *Paris*, where he was afterwards beheaded on *Tuesday* the 19th of *December*, 1475. and his Goods confiscated to the King.

AFTER the Constable of *France's* Death, it plainly appear'd that he had been guilty of several notorious Crimes; and the whole course of his villanous and treasonable Practices were  
openly

openly declar'd in Parliament, and all his under-hand Dealings and Correspondence with the Duke of *Burgundy* were fully discover'd. Then we perfectly knew the whole Mystery of that Affair ; and how the Duke of *Burgundy* and he had often endeavour'd to corrupt and debauch the the Duke of *Bourbon's* Principles, and draw him over to their Party, and that at last after many fruitless Attempts, how he dispatch'd a subtle Agent of his nam'd *Hector de l'Ecluse* to the Duke of *Bourbon*, to acquaint him that the *English* had a Design to invade *France*, and that if he would join with them and the Duke of *Burgundy*, he question'd not but to conquer the whole Kingdom, and that a great part of it should be annex'd to his Territories as a Reward for his Assistance. This was the Master-piece of his Villany and Treason ; but it seems the Duke of *Bourbon* had too much Honour to hearken to such Proposals, told the said *Hector de l'Ecluse* that he would have no Hand in it, and that he had rather be reduc'd to Beggery, than ever consent to the Ruin of either the King or Kingdom.

IN February, 1475. the King, who was at *Tours* or *Amboise*, set out from thence for *Bourbonnois* and *Auvergne*, from whence he went to *Nostre Dame de Puy* to perform his Devotions, and afterwards into *Lionnois* and *Dauphinè*. While the King was at *Nostre Dame de Puy*, he receiv'd an Express that brought him the News of the Defeat of the Duke of *Burgundy's* Army by the *Swiss*, as he was endeavouring to penetrate into *Switzerland*, which happen'd after the following manner. After the taking of *Ganson*, the Duke of *Burgundy* march'd with his Army along the Lake of *Verdun* towards *Fribourg*, and  
by

A. D.

1475.

A. D. 1475. by the way took too small Castles situated upon the Mountains, just at the Entrance of'em; but the *Swiss*, who had Intelligence of his Approach, and were also inform'd of his taking *Ganson*, march'd towards him, and on *Friday* the first of *March* towards Night they arriv'd at the two above-mention'd Castles, which they immediately invested after such a manner as to prevent the Garrisons from making any Sallies, and plac'd about six thousand Men with Fire-Arms in a little Copse between the two Castles near the Place where the Duke of *Burgundy* lay encamp'd with his whole Army. The next Day very early in the Morning, as the Duke of *Burgundy* was marching forward with all his Artillery, Bag and Baggage; this Body of *Swiss* upon a Signal given them, starts out of the Ambush where they had lain all Night, and all on a sudden made so terrible a Fire with their small Arms upon the *Burgundian* Vanguard, as kill'd most of the chief Officers, and entirely broke and dispers'd them; and notwithstanding the Duke of *Burgundy* did all he could to rally his Men, and make them face the Enemy once more, their Consternation was so great, that he could not bring them up to stand a second Charge; and the *Swiss* being animated by this Success, and eager to improve the Advantage they had gain'd over the Enemy, as soon as they had discharg'd their Muskets, fell on Sword in Hand, and entirely routed the whole Army. At last, the Duke of *Burgundy* finding the Battle was lost, and that he was in Danger of being taken Prisoner; in great Agony and Confusion mounts his Horse, and being attended by only four Officers of his Army, made his Escape to *Joigne*, which was sixteen



sixteen *French* Leagues from the Place where this Defeat happen'd. In this Action, which happen'd on *Saturday* the second of *March*, 1475. the Duke of *Burgundy* lost the greatest part of the chief Officers and Men of Quality of his Army, besides all his Artillery, Bag and Baggage. The *Swiss* also retook both the Castles, and hung up all the *Burgundians* they found in them. Afterwards they retook the Town and Castle of *Granson*, and order'd the *Germans* to the Number of five hundred and twelve, that the *Burgundians* had hang'd, to be cut down, and so many of the *Burgundians* that were in *Granson* to be hang'd up in the same Halters.

A. D.

1475.

IN *May* 1476. the Duke of *Burgundy*, notwithstanding his Defeat near *Granson*, was resolv'd still to push on the War against the *Germans*, and to besiege *Strasbourg*; but not being in a Condition to do it without a fresh Supply of Men and Money, he sends *M. William Hugonot* and twelve other Deputies into his own Dominions to acquaint his Subjects, that though he had been defeated by the *Swiss*, yet he was resolv'd to be reveng'd on them, and to push on the War with greater Vigour; and therefore being unable to do it without a great Supply of Men and Money, he commanded all his Subjects by these Deputies of *Ghent*, *Bruges*, *Brussels*, and other Towns in *Flanders*, to exert themselves upon this Occasion, and give him the sixth Part of their Estates, and such a Number of Men as he should demand. And in order to prevail with them to consent to his Demands, he bid the Deputies tell them that the *Germans* were got between him and Home, and that without a fresh Supply of Forces, he could not return into his own Dominions.

A. D.

1476.

A. D. 1476. minions. To which Remonstrance the Inhabitants of the above-mention'd Towns made Answer, that they were resolv'd to grant no more Supplies of either Men or Money to carry on the War; but that if the *German* Army was too strong for him, and hinder'd him from coming Home, they would venture their Lives and all they were worth to bring him safely into his own Dominions.

IN the mean time the King staid at *Lyons* feasting and enjoying himself; where the King of *Sicily* his Uncle came to wait on him, whom his Majesty entertain'd very nobly, shew'd him the Diversions of the Fair that was kept in that City, and made several Balls and Entertainments, to which the handsomest Ladies of *Lyons* were always invited on purpose to divert and entertain him.

SOME time after this the King who was at *Lyons*, and had great part of his Army with him, receiv'd Advice that the Duke of *Lorraine*, in Conjunction with the *Swiss* and *Germans*, besides a good Body of *Lorrainers*, were in Motion to oppose the Duke of *Burgundy*, who had rashly and imprudently penetrated into *Switzerland*, and with his whole Army was set down before a little Town in that Country nam'd *Morat*. And on *Saturday* the 22d of *June*, 1476. between Ten and Eleven in the Morning the Duke of *Lorraine* at the Head of all those Forces we have already mention'd, attack'd the Duke of *Burgundy*, and at the first Charge entirely broke and defeated his Vanguard, which consisted of twelve thousand Men; and the Slaughter and Confusion was so very great, that the Count *de Romont*, who commanded them, had much ado to make his Escape. After this De-  
feat

feat the Garrison of *Morat* join'd the Duke of *Lorrain's* Army, which forc'd the Duke of *Burgundy's* Intrenchments, where they gave no Quarter, but kill'd all they found in them; so that the Duke of *Burgundy* was at last forc'd to retire with the Remains of his broken Army that had sav'd themselves by Flight: Nay, he himself fled as far as *Joigne*, which was sixteen *French* Leagues from the Field of Battle; and in this Action he lost all his Artillery, Plate, Money, Jewels, Tents, Pavilions, and in short, every thing of Value that was in his Camp. As soon as the Battle was over, the *Germans* and *Swiss* return'd the Duke of *Lorrain* many Thanks for his Care and Conduct in the Action; and in Consideration of the great Services he had done them, they presented him with all the Duke of *Burgundy's* Artillery to make him amends for what he lost at *Nancy*, when the Duke of *Burgundy* by Force of Arms sack'd that Town, and carried away all the Cannon that he found in it. The Heralds that were appointed to take an Account of the slain report that there were twenty two thousand five hundred *Burgundians* kill'd on the spot, besides a vast Number in the Rout, for the Duke of *Lorrain's* Army pursued them as far as *Joigne*, and afterwards burnt and destroyd the whole Earldom of *Romont* in *Sarvoy*, putting all to the Sword they could meet with, without any Distinction of Age or Sex.

AFTER this the Duke of *Lorrain* marches to *Strasbourg*, and from thence with a Body of four thousand Men detach'd from the Grand Army, goes and besieges *Nancy*, in which there was a Garrison of twelve hundred *Burgundians*, and after he had given some Directi-  
ons

A. D.

1476.



A. D. 1476. ons to the Officer that commanded a Body of Troops under him, he return'd to *Strasbourg* again, from whence he sent several Convoys of Provision and Ammunition, and afterwards set out himself for the Camp before *Nancy*, to command at the Siege of that Place in Person.

AFTER the Duke of *Burgundy's* Defeat at *Morat*, and the besieging of *Nancy*, the Town was surrender'd to the Duke of *Lorraine*, on Condition that the Garrison, (who were all *Burgundians*,) should march out with Bag and Baggage, and the usual Marks of Honour, which was granted them; and as soon as the Duke of *Lorraine* was Master of it, he immediately put a strong Garrison of his own Troops in it, and provided it with Ammunition, Provision, and all things necessary for a long Defence; and it was well he acted so prudently, for scarce had he been a Month in Possession of the Town, when the Duke of *Burgundy*, who was retir'd to *Riviere* a Town near *Salins* in *Burgundy*, with what Forces he could raise comes and besieges it again, upon which the Duke of *Lorraine* marches into *Switzerland* to solicit more Troops in order to relieve the Garrison, and raise the Siege of *Nancy*.

AFTER this the King of *Portugal*, who laid Claim to the Kingdom of *Castile*, and in short, to all *Spain*, in Right of his Queen, left his Kingdom, and came to the Frontiers of *France*, and from thence to *Tours* to visit the King; and to desire his Majesty to assist him with some Troops to recover those Kingdoms. He was receiv'd by the King with all the Marks of Honour and Respect imaginable, and during his Stay at *Tours*, he was nobly treated and entertain'd by the King and several of the Nobility of the Court.

IN

IN the mean time the Duke of *Burgundy*, who as you have already been inform'd, had be-  
 sieg'd *Nancy* in *Lorraine*, put the Garrison to such great Straits and Necessities, that for want of Provision they were forc'd to capitulate and surrender the Town upon Articles. And on *Sunday* the 5th of *January* the Duke of *Lorraine* arriv'd with an Army of twelve or fourteen thousand *Swiss* and *Germans*, in order to raise the Siege of *Nancy*, and fight the Duke of *Burgundy*. On *Saturday* the 6th of *January* the Duke of *Lorraine* arriv'd with an Army of ten thousand *Swiss*, besides *Germans* and *Lorrainers* at *St. Nicholas de Varengerville*.

A. D.

1476.



ON the *Sunday* following the Lords of *Switzerland* and *Lorraine* march'd from thence to *Neufville*, and a little beyond that Place they halted some time, to consider how they might draw up their Forces to the best Advantage; and accordingly they divided their Army into two Bodies, one of which was commanded by the Count d'*Abstain*, and the Governors of *Fribourg* and *Zurich*, and the other by the chief Magistrates of *Bern*. About Noon the two Bodies began to march at once; one towards the River, and the other along the High Road leading to *Nancy*. The Duke of *Burgundy*, who had Intelligence of their coming, had quitted his Intrenchments, and drawn up his Army in order of Battle ready to receive them. In the Front between him and one of the Enemies Bodies, there was a little Brook and two strong Hedges; and on the high Road, along which the other was marching to engage him, he had planted all his Cannon and Field-pieces; and as soon as ever the *Swiss* came within Bow-shot, the *Burgundians* discharg'd a whole Volley of

A. D. 1476. Arrows, which did no Execution; upon which that Body quitted the High Road, and march'd higher towards the Wood, till they had gain'd an Eminence opposite to the Duke of *Burgundy's* Army. In the mean time the Duke of *Burgundy* commands his Archers, (who were all on Foot,) to face about; and at the same time order'd two Squadrons of his Men at Arms commanded by *James Galiot* and *M. de Lallaing* to attack the Enemy. As soon as the *Swiss* had gain'd the rising Ground opposite to the Duke of *Burgundy's* Army, they immediately fac'd about; and marching up to him with all the Fury and Intrepidity imaginable, made such a terrible Fire upon the Body of Foot that he commanded, that they entirely broke and defeated them. The other Body of *Swiss* march'd at the same time to engage the two Squadrons commanded by *James Galiot* and *M. de Lallaing*, whom they entirely routed at the first Charge. Upon this, the Right Wing of the *Burgundians*, who had not yet been engag'd, attack'd the *Swiss*, by whom they were repuls'd, and at last entirely defeated; so that when the Foot began to give Ground and run away, the Horse presently follow'd them, and endeavour'd to make their Escape by the Bridge of *Bridores*, which was about a League from *Nancy*, in the Way to *Thionville* and *Luxembourg*. But the Count *di Campobasso* having secur'd that Pass by a good Body of Troops, and the Duke of *Lorraine* and his Men following them close at the Heels, vast Numbers of them threw themselves or were driven into the River, where they were drown'd; and the rest were either kill'd or taken, very few or none making their Escapes: so that there was a greater Number kill'd in the Rout, than on



on the Field of Battle. Some of the *Burgundians* finding they could not get over the Bridge, retir'd to the Woods in hopes of saving themselves; but they were pursued thither by the Peasants of the Country, who kill'd them as fast as they could find them, so that for four Leagues round the Fields and Highways were strew'd with the Bodies of dead Men. The Pursuit lasted till two Hours after Night, and then the Duke of *Lorraine* began to enquire what was become of the Duke of *Burgundy*; whether he had made his Escape or was taken Prisoner, but no Body could give any Account of him, and immediately the Duke of *Lorraine* dispatch'd a certain Person to one *John Dias* of the City of *Metz*, to know if he had pass'd through that Place in his Retreat, who sent his Highness Word the next Morning, that he had not; that he was not at *Luxembourg*; neither could any Body tell what was become of him. On Monday, which was *Twelfth-Day*, the Count *di Campobasso* met with a Page that was taken Prisoner, belonging to the Count *de Chalon*, who was with the Duke of *Burgundy* in the Battle. This Lad, upon Examination, confess'd the Duke of *Burgundy* was kill'd; and the next Day upon diligent searching after him, they found him stript stark naked, and the Bodies of fourteen Men more in the same Condition, at some distance from each other. The Duke was wounded in three Places, and his Body was known and distinguish'd from the rest by six particular Marks; the chiefest of which was, the want of his upper Teeth before, which were beaten out with a Fall; the second was a Scar in his Throat occasion'd by the Wound he receiv'd at the Battle of *Mont l'Hery*; the third

A. D.  
1476.

1476. A. D. was his great Nails, which he always wore longer than any of his Courtiers; the fourth was another Scar upon his left Shoulder; the fifth was a Fistula in his right Groin, and the last was a Nail that grew into his little Toe. And upon seeing all these above-mention'd Marks upon the Body, his Physician, the Gentlemen of the Bed-Chamber, the Bastard of *Burgundy*, M. *Oliver de la Marche*, his Chaplain, and several other Officers that were taken Prisoners by the Duke of *Lorrain*, unanimously agreed it was the Body of their Lord and Master the Duke of *Burgundy*.

IMMEDIATELY after the Defeat and Death of the Duke of *Burgundy*; the Duke of *Lorrain* and the rest of the Generals of the Army call'd a Council of War, the Result of which was, that a considerable Body of Forces should immediately be sent into the Dutchy of *Burgundy* and other Provinces to reduce the Towns that were garrison'd by *Burgundian* Troops, to the King's Obedience; which was put in Execution, and most of the Towns surrender'd without any Opposition, as did likewise the Country of *Auxerre*, the Subjects of which took the Oath of Allegiance to the King.

IN *June* the Prince of *Orange*, who had been highly affronted by M. *de Craon*, Lieutenant-General of the King's Army in *Burgundy*, was resolv'd to be reveng'd on him and the King also, who it seems had taken the Government of a Province from him, and given it to M. *de Craon*; and therefore he persuades all the Countries, Cities, Towns, and other Places, which before had submitted to the King at his Request, to revolt and rise up in Rebellion against him. There was a *Burgundian* Knight nam'd  
M. *Claude*

M. *Claude de Vandray*, that join'd with the Prince in this Undertaking, and manag'd the War with tolerable Success against M. *de Craon*. But at last M. *de Craon* having Intelligence that the Prince of *Orange* was in a little Town call'd *Guy*, march'd immediately and besieg'd it, and about two Days after he had invested it, he receiv'd Advice that M. *Chasteauguyon* was marching to relieve it, upon which he left a few Troops before the Town, to hinder the Garrison from making any Sally, and with the rest of the Army advanc'd to meet M. *Chasteauguyon* the Prince of *Orange*'s Brother, whom he entirely routed and defeated; and in this Action there were above fourteen hundred Persons of Note and Distinction kill'd on both sides; and for this Victory the King order'd general Processions to be made in the Church of St. *Martin* in *Paris*.

A. D.

1476.

IN *July*, 1477. the Duke of *Gelders* with about fourteen or fifteen hundred *Germans* came and encamp'd at *Pont d'Epiere* near *Tournay*, with a Design to burn the Suburbs of that Place, upon which the Garrison of *Tournay* made two Sallies; in the first the Duke himself was slain, and in the last the whole Body of the *Germans* and the *Flemings* were entirely defeated, two thousand of them kill'd upon the spot, and seven hundred taken Prisoners, for which the King order'd *Te Deum* to be sung, and Bone-fires to be made in the Streets of *Paris*.

A. D.

1477.

ABOUT the same time, the King, who was in *Picardy*, left that Country; having first made the Bastard of *Bourbon*, (who was Admiral of *France*), his Lieutenant-General, with whom he left a good Body of Forces to secure the Country, and cover the Frontiers of his Kingdom.



A. D. 1477. The King's Troops under the Bastard of *Bourbon's* Command were quarter'd in *Arras*, *Tournay*, *la Bassée*, and in several other Towns upon the Frontiers of *Flanders*, and in those Countries that still held out for the Lady of *Flanders* Daughter to the late Duke of *Burgundy*.

A. D. 1478. IN *May*, 1478. All that the King did during this whole Month in *Picardy*, was only taking a little Town call'd *Condé*, which was still in the Hands of the *Burgundians*, and which stood very incommodious for the Garrison of *Tournay*; for all the Convoys both of Provision and Ammunition must of course pass by it. There happen'd to be some *German* Troops belonging to the Duke of *Austria* in it, who at first seem'd resolv'd to stand a Siege, but when they saw the prodigious Army with which the King had invest'd it, they immediately surrender'd the Town upon honourable Terms, as they did also the Castle some time after.

ABOUT this time, the King, who was gone into *Picardy* with a Design to reduce all the Countries, Towns and Places that were in the Possession of the late Duke of *Burgundy* at his Decease, and which belong'd to his Majesty, had assembled the greatest Army, and provided the largest Train of Artillery that ever was seen in *France*. He forbore entring upon any Action for a long time, in hopes of accommodating Matters between him, the *Flemings*, and the Duke *Maximilian* of *Austria*, whom they acknowledg'd for their Sovereign, to facilitate which the Duke of *Austria* sends Ambassadors to *Cambray* and *Arras* to treat with the King about it, who talk'd mightily of surrendering up to the King the Counties of *Artois*, *Bologne*, *Doway*, *Orchies*, *St. Omers*, and other

other Towns, besides the whole Dutchy of *A. D.*  
*Burgundy*; and upon the bare Promises only of 1478.  
these Ambassadors the King imprudently deli-  
vers up *Cambray*, *Quesnoy*, *Bouchain*, and several  
other Towns. The Duke of *Austria* upon the Pre-  
tence of being near the King, and having the  
Conveniency of frequent Conferences, came and  
encamp'd with an Army of twenty thousand  
Men between *Doway* and *Arras*, where he  
amused the King with specious Words and fair  
Promises till the End of *June*; and then not-  
withstanding the King had so generously given  
up those Towns to him, he openly declar'd he  
would not stand to the Promises his Ambassa-  
dors had made in his Name, neither was that  
Affair brought to any Conclusion.

In this Month the King had better Success  
in Upper *Burgundy*; whither his Majesty had  
sent a considerable Body of Forces under the  
Command of M. *d'Amboise* Governor of *Cham-*  
*pagne* to recover some Troops that had revolted  
from him. M. *d'Amboise* was so fortunate, that  
in three Weeks he retook *Verdun*, *Monsauion* and  
*Semur* in *Auxois*, partly by Storm, and partly  
by Composition. Afterwards he besieg'd *Beaulne*,  
which also was surrender'd to him upon certain  
Articles, the chief of which were, that the  
Inhabitants should pay forty thousand Pounds  
to preserve the Town from being plunder'd;  
that they should discharge all their Debts that  
were owing to the Merchants of *Paris*, and of  
other Cities in the Kingdom; and that the  
Garrison should be allow'd to march out with  
their Bag and Baggage; and be conducted to  
such a Place mention'd in the Articles.

A. D. 1478. IN *July* the King, who was at *Arrás*, receiv'd two extraordinary Embassies; one from *Maximilian* Duke of *Austria*, and another from the *Flemings*, and when the Ambassadors had been heard by the King and his Council, a Cessation of Arms was agreed upon between the King, Duke *Maximilian*, and the *Flemings* for one Year, during which time there was to be a free Intercourse of Trade between the Subjects of both Princes.

A. D. 1479. IN *April*, 1479. the King who was in the County of *Touraine*, began to make Preparations for the ensuing Campaign, being resolv'd to push on the War with Vigour as soon as the Cessation of Arms between him and the Duke of *Austria*, which was almost expir'd, was ended. Besides, the Duke of *Austria* had sent no Ambassadors to him to treat of a Prolongation of the Truce; and therefore his Majesty might reasonably conclude, that his Intentions were to renew the War as soon as the Treaty was expir'd.

IN *May* following, (notwithstanding the Truce was not expir'd,) the Inhabitants of *Cambray* treacherously admitted the *Flemings*, *Picardians*, and other Soldiers belonging to the Duke of *Austria's* Army into their City, which his Majesty thought had been safe enough in the Hands of so vigilant and loyal a Governor as the Lord *de Fiennes*. As soon as the Duke of *Austria's* Forces were Masters of the Town, they drove the King's Garrison out of the Castle; and immediately afterwards a Detachment of three or four hundred *Flemings* and *Picardians* presented themselves before the Town and Castle of *Bouchain*, upon Intelligence that the Inhabitants would murder the King's Garrison and



and open their Gates to 'em, which accordingly they did upon their first Approach, and kill'd all the King's Soldiers except one Archer, who had the good luck to escape. The King was extremely incens'd and provok'd at this unfair and treacherous manner of proceeding, seeing his Troops had not committed the least Act of Hostility, nor given them any Occasion or Pretence for violating the Truce; and therefore he immediately sends a considerable Body of the Nobles and *Frank-Archers* of the Kingdom, with a large Train of Artillery, under the Command of the Governor of *Champagne*, to reduce the Towns and Places in the Dutchy of *Burgundy* and *Franche-Comte*, that had lately revolted from him, who was so very fortunate as to retake the strong Castle of *Rochefort* by Storm, which he plunder'd and put all the Garrison to the Sword. From thence the Governor of *Champagne*, who was also the King's Lieutenant-General, march'd with his Army to *Dole*, which upon their refusing to surrender, he immediately attack'd, carried it by storm, plunder'd it, put all the Inhabitants to the Sword, and raz'd the City to the Ground.

ON *Saturday* the 3d of *July*, 1479. the Bishop of *Lombes* Abbot of *St. Dennis* in *France*, arriv'd at *Paris* as Ambassador Extraordinary from the King of *Spain*, and was met and complimented without the City-Gates by the Mayor and Aldermen, and all the Persons of Quality of that City, whom he afterwards nobly entertain'd at *St. Dennis*. About the same time a Young Prince of the Kingdom of *Scotland* nam'd the Duke of *Albany*, who had been driven out of the Kingdom by the King his Brother, arriv'd at *Paris*, where he was receiv'd with all the

Mark's

A. D. 1479. Marks of Honour and Civility imaginable, and treated and entertain'd at the King's Expence during his stay in *France*.

A. D. 1480. IN the Year 1480. the Lord *Howard* and several other Ambassadors from *England* arriv'd in *France*, to treat with the King about prolonging the Truce that was concluded between him and the King of *England*. The King receiv'd the Ambassadors very kindly, feasted and entertain'd them nobly, and made them considerable Presents, when they left *France* in order to return into *England*.

DURING Winter, and even till *April*, (at which time the Truce between the King and the *Flemings* was to expire,) nothing was attempted on either side, for the *Flemings* had sent Ambassadors to the King at *Tours* to desire the Cessation of Arms might be continued a Year longer; to which his Majesty readily consented, in hopes some Expedient or another might be found in all that time to settle an honourable and lasting Peace between him and them, which would put an End to a War that had already been the Occasion of spilling so much Christian Blood.

ABOUT the same time Ambassadors from *Edward IV.* King of *England* arriv'd in *France* to treat with the King about the Prolongation of the Truce, and his Majesty did them the Favour to meet them at *Chateau Regnault*, and as soon as they had dispatch'd the Affair which they were sent to negotiate with the King, they return'd into *England*; and afterwards the Prolongation of the Truce between the two Kings was proclaim'd by sound of Trumpet at *Paris*. Some time after this, the King

King fell very ill at *Plessis du Parc* near *Tours*, A. D. 1480. and his Physicians were of Opinion that his Majesty was in a dangerous Condition, but in a little time he grew better, and in less than a Month was perfectly recover'd of his Illness.

IN the Year 1481, notwithstanding the Cessation of Arms, the King's Troops in the Garrison-Towns upon the Frontiers of *Picardy*, committed several Hostilities, and had frequent Skirmishes with the Duke of *Austria's*, and all the Prisoners that were taken on both sides were immediately hang'd up, without permitting any of what Degree or Rank soever to be ransom'd.

ABOUT the same time the King who had been very ill at *Tours*, remov'd to *Tovars*, where his Majesty grew worse, and his Physicians were of Opinion he was in a dangerous Condition; whereupon he made several large Offerings and Gifts to abundance of Churches in the Kingdom, in hopes to recover his Health by these pious Acts of Charity and Devotion. In his Sickness he made a Vow to go a Pilgrimage to *St. Claude*, which he accordingly perform'd as soon as he had recover'd Strength enough to undertake the Journey. Before he left the County of *Touraine*, he went to see the *Dauphin* whom he had scarce ever seen before, and when he took his leave of him, he gave him his Blessing, and having committed him to the Care and Tuition of the Lord *Peter de Bourbon* whom he had made his Lieutenant-General, he commanded him to obey that Lord, and be rul'd by him in every thing till his Return.



A. D. 1482. In the Year 1482. on *Thursday* the 4th. of *May* between four and five in the Morning, died the most noble and illustrious Princess, *Joan* of *France*, Wife to *John* Duke of *Bourbon* and *Auvergne*, in the Castle of *Molins* in *Bourbonnois* of a violent Fever; and was buried in the Church of *Nostre Dame* at *Molins*. She was a Lady of great Wisdom and Piety, and was extremely lamented by the Duke her Husband, her Servants, and all the People of *France*, upon Account of the many extraordinary Vertues and amiable Perfections she was endow'd with.

In the same Year about *October* the King fell violently ill, and thought he should have died at *Plessis du Parc* near *Tours*; and therefore as soon as his Majesty had recover'd a little Strength, he went to *Amboise*, where he made several long Remonstrances to the *Dauphin* in behalf of his Servants and Officers of his Household and Kingdom; exhorting and desiring him to be kind to all of them, but especially to *Monsieur Oliver* his Barber, and *M. John de Doyac* Governor of *Auvergne*, who had done him many considerable Services, and always been very loyal and faithful Subjects. He also recommended the Lord *de Bouchage* and the Lord *Guyotot* Bailiff of *Vermendois*, as being very wise and able Counsellors, and desir'd the *Dauphin* to make use of their Advice in all State Affairs. Moreover, he entreated him to continue all the Officers in their Posts and Employments, and to have a tender Regard to his People, whom he had already too much harass'd and oppress'd. Lastly, he recommended the Lord *des Querdes* for Military Affairs, as being an Officer of great Valour and Conduct, and the fittest Person to make a General of any

any in the Kingdom of *France*. After this, A. D. the King return'd to *Montils* near *Tours*. 1482.

IN *October* and *November* several Ambassadors arriv'd from *Flanders* to treat of a Peace between his Majesty and the *Flemings*, which at last was concluded to the great Joy and Satisfaction of both Parties, by a Marriage between the *Dauphin* of *France* and the Duke of *Austria's* Daughter, upon which the King immediately order'd *Te Deum* to be sung, and Bone-fires to be made in the Publick Streets of *Tours*.

IN *January* the Ambassadors that had concluded the Peace between the King and the *Flemings* upon the Marriage between the *Dauphin* and the Countess of *Flanders*, Daughter to the Duke of *Austria*, arriv'd at *Paris*; and were met and complimented in the King's Name by the Bishop of *Marseilles*, the Mayor and Aldermen of the City, and several other Persons of Quality, who nobly feasted and entertain'd them, and the next Day they set out from thence to wait on the King at *Amboise*, who receiv'd them very kindly, as did also the *Dauphin*; and upon their taking leave of the King, his Majesty presented them with thirty thousand Crowns, and afterwards they return'd to *Paris*, where the Articles of Peace were ratified and confirm'd in the Court of Parliament, and afterwards read and publish'd by sound of Trumpet in all the publick Streets of that City: and as soon as the Publication was over, Monsieur le *Picard* Bailiff of *Roan* treated the Ambassadors and all the King's Officers with a splendid and magnificent Dinner.

A. D. 1483. ON Saturday the 19th of April, 1483. the Lord *de Beaujeu* and his Lady came to *Paris* in order to go into *Picardy* to meet and compliment the *Dauphiness*, whom, by the Treaty of Peace the *Flemings* were to deliver to the Lord *de Beaujeu*, who was to conduct her to *Paris*.

IN April, *Edward IV.* King of *England* died of an Apoplexy, though some say it was of a Surfeit, occasion'd by drinking too much of some rich Wines that the King had made him a Present of; however, he liv'd long enough to settle the Affairs of his Kingdom, and to leave the Succession of the Crown to his eldest Son *Edward V.*

ON Monday the second of June, the *Dauphiness*, accompanied by *Madam de Beaujeu* the Admiral of *France's* Lady, and several other Ladies of Quality, made her publick Entry into *Paris* about five in the Afternoon, and all the Streets through which the *Dauphiness* pass'd were lin'd with Soldiers, hung with Tapestry, and crowded with Persons of Quality richly dress'd who came thither on purpose to compliment and pay their Respects to her; and in Honour to the Day of her Arrival, all the Prisoners in *Paris* were immediately set at Liberty.

IN July, the Nuptial Ceremony between the *Dauphin* and the Lady *Margaret of Austria* was perform'd with great Pomp and Solemnity at *Amboise*, at which all the Nobility and chief Persons of the Kingdom were present.

ON Monday the 25th of August, the King fell very ill at *Montils* near *Tours*, and in two Hours time lost his Speech and his Senses; and the News of his Death came to *Paris* on Wednesday the 27th of the same Month, upon which the Mayor



Mayor and Aldermen order'd the City-Gates to be shut up, and a strong Guard to be plac'd at each of them, that none might go out or in without being examin'd, which made the Common People cry out that the King was dead; but it was a false Alarm, for his Majesty was only in a Fit, out of which he presently recover'd, and liv'd till *Saturday* the 30th of *August*, and then died about six or seven in the Evening of the same Day.

AS soon as he was dead his Body was embalm'd, and buried in the Church of *Noſtre Dame de Clery* at *Montils*, having in his Lifetime order'd it should be so, and positively commanded the *Dauphin* not to bury him in the Church of *St. Dennis*, where three Kings of *France* (his illustrious Predecessors) were interr'd. He never gave any Reason for it, but some People were of Opinion it was for the sake of the Church which he had liberally endow'd, and out of a singular Veneration for the *Blessed Virgin* who was worshipp'd there after a more solemn manner than in any other Place of the Kingdom. The King had, during his whole Reign, by the evil Advice of M. *Oliver* his Barber, M. *John de Doyac*, and several other wicked Counsellors that were about his Person, committed great Injustice in his Kingdom, and so miserably oppress'd and harras'd his People, that the very Reflection of his Tyrannical Usage of them stung him to the Heart, and almost drove him to Despair; so that when he lay upon his Death-Bed he sincerely repented of all his Sins, and gave prodigious Sums of Money to the Clergy to pray for his Soul, and rewarded them for their Prayers, with what he had by Violence and Extortion

A. D. 1483. tortion gotten of his Subjects. It must be own'd that his was a very busie Reign, and full of many great and important Actions; yet he manag'd his Affairs so well, that he forc'd all his Enemies to submit to his Mercy, and was equally dreaded both abroad and at Home. He lay for a long time before his Death under very sharp and severe Illnesses, which forc'd his Physicians to make use of violent and painful Applications, which though they were not so successful as to recover his Health, and save his Life, yet doubtless they were very beneficial to his Soul; and perhaps the chief Means of saving it from Eternal Damnation, and fixing it in Paradise, through his tender Mercy who liveth and reigneth World without End, Amen.

F I N I S.



# ERRATA.

## V O L. I.

Page 44. Line 31. *for* were the Occasion *read* were the Occasion of. p. 97. l. 22. *for* to *r.* towards. p. 127. l. 18. *for* in an Alliance *r.* in Alliance. p. 132. l. 24. *for* Escapes *r.* Escape. p. 138. l. 15. *for* was *r.* were. p. 150. l. 23. *for* nor *r.* or. p. 159. l. 30. *for* nor *r.* or. l. 32. *for* nor *r.* or. p. 160. l. 19. *for* he *r.* be. p. 168. l. 34. *for* and they *r.* they. p. 171. l. 37. *dele* him. p. 199. l. 27. *for* in *r.* before. p. 200. l. 33. *for* their *r.* his. p. 222. l. 27. *for* persuade *r.* persuaded. p. 233. l. 12. *for* great Intelligence *r.* had great Intelligence. p. 247. l. 3. *for* carrying *r.* carried. p. 248. l. 37. *for* from Calais *r.* before Calais. p. 276. l. 22. *for* or *r.* nor. p. 289. l. 9. *for* nor *r.* or. p. 293. l. 25. *for* within *r.* with him. p. 302. l. 27. *for* who *r.* whom. p. 304. l. 11. *for* Life *r.* Death. p. 305. l. 33. *for* dispos'd *r.* dispos'd of. p. 308. l. 18. *for* thing *r.* think. p. 315. l. 8. *for* again *r.* against. p. 332. l. 13. *for* other *r.* others. p. 336. l. 36. *dele* not. p. 340. l. 23. *for* to do *r.* neither to do. p. 347. l. 34. *for* or vain *r.* nor vain. p. 364. l. 18. *for* Lettice *r.* Lattice. p. 373. l. 3. *for* Mischief *r.* Mischiefs. p. 378. l. 15. *for* of the Head *r.* on the Head. p. 403. l. 10. *for* into *r.* in. p. 405. l. 24. *for* in *r.* into. p. 406. l. 32. *for* was *r.* were. p. 414. l. 14. *for* your *r.* you. p. 429. l. 1. *for* are *r.* is. p. 439. l. 12. *for* by no means *r.* by any means. p. 448. l. 16. *for* beat down *r.* knock'd down. p. 452. l. 2. *for* nor *r.* or. l. 4. *for* was *r.* were. p. 454. l. 16. *for* Horses *r.* Houses. p. 455. l. 8. *for* of two *r.* two of. l. 25. *for* are *r.* is. p. 457. l. 34. *for* an Account *r.* no Account. p. 488. l. 12. *for* no more *r.* any more. p. 494. l. 30. *for* nor *r.* or. p. 497. l. 20. *for* nor *r.* or. p. 510. l. 4. *for* or any *r.* nor any.

## V O L. II.

Page 575. Line 24. *for* March 1479. *read* 1480. p. 576. *for* A. D. 1479. *r.* A. D. 1480. p. 750. l. 19. *for* Tybur *r.* Tiber. p. 751. l. 27. *for* do *r.* no. p. 892. l. 4. *for* to the Florence *r.* to the Florentines. p. 909. l. 26. *for* *lustra pelori* *r.* *claustra pelori*.

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*Directions to the Bookbinder.*

N. B. Place this Errata after the *Scandalous Chronicle* at the End of the Second Volume.



